

The University of Chicago

THE GOVERNMENT OF EDUCATION IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

1937

By
JOHN ALBERT VIEG

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**The Government of Education
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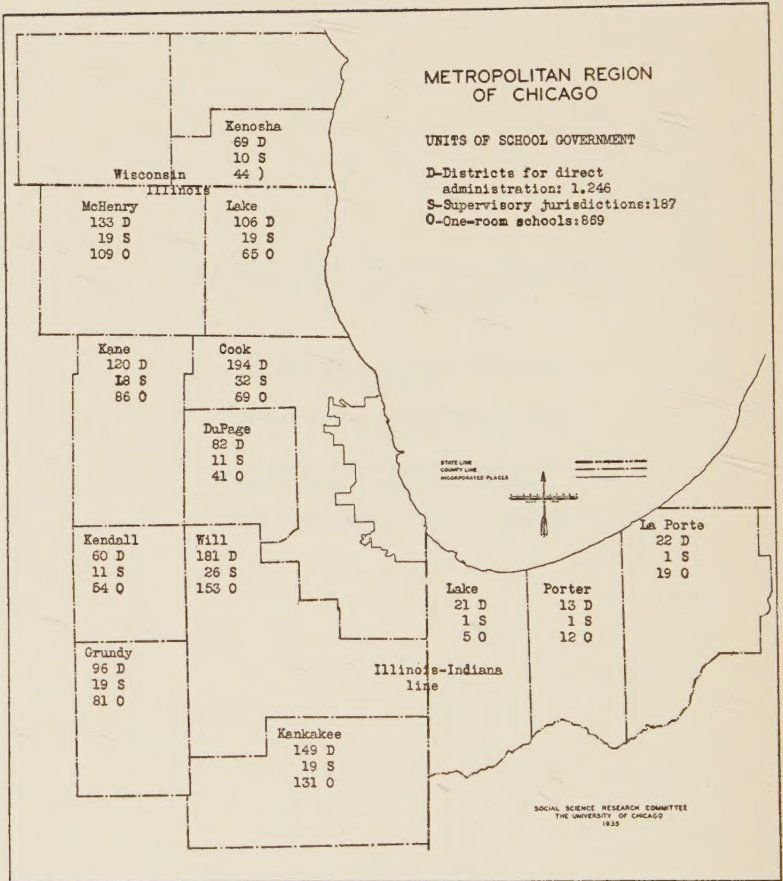
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MAP I



The University of Chicago

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TO MY MOTHER
AND TO THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER

PREFACE

Continuing the series of researches on the local metropolitan community initiated by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago a decade ago, this study surveys the interrelationships between education and government in the Chicago area. It describes the major developments of the last quarter-century and indicates some of the ways that are open for the solution of basic problems that have emerged. Some of these are problems of public administration; others lie in the realm of practical politics. Both fields have been considered, but a greater portion of space has been devoted to the question of what might be done to secure a better adjustment of schools and cities than to the question of how to promote the adoption of the various proposals that have been made.

Division of time and attention between the central city of the Region and its environs has been governed by two considerations: the fact that an earlier volume in this series has already disclosed the confusion existing in the suburban area due to the backwardness of school government and a belief that what would be most helpful at the present stage would be an analysis of the situation in Chicago proper. Most of the book is accordingly devoted to the educational-governmental problems of corporate Chicago.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the professional indebtedness I have incurred. Dr. Charles E. Merriam, who first suggested the propriety of making the study, has given counsel and encouragement from the beginning.

Professors J. G. Kerwin, Louis Wirth, and Nelson B. Henry have helped to keep my attention focused on the more critical aspects of the school-city relationship; by their careful reading of the study in typed form they have saved me from numerous errors both of fact and of interpretation. Several other members of the University faculty in the departments of political science and education have also given me the benefit of their criticism.

Staff members at the offices of the Chicago Board of Education and in the City-County Building who facilitated my search for materials or information are too numerous to permit of individual remembrance. I must tender them a blanket acknowledgment. In the same manner I am obliged to recognize the cordial assistance of the Illinois State Teachers Association; the superintendents of public instruction in Springfield, Indianapolis, and Madison; and the Joint Reference Library maintained by the Public Administration Clearing House and other national governmental organizations in Chicago.

To Miss Mary J. Herrick, former president of the Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, and to Mr. Edwin E. Hill, retired chairman of the Department of Social Science at Chicago Normal School, I am constrained, however, to pay separate tribute. Out of a wide and direct acquaintance with the local school situation, Miss Herrick gave me many valuable suggestions and contributed greatly to the attainment of such accuracy of information as the study now displays. Mr. Hill generously permitted the use of materials from his professional library in connection with the section on "Self-help through Improved Civic Education." If, despite the assistance of all these people, errors still remain, the author is alone at fault.

Final acknowledgments go to my genial and able confreres of Rooms 305 and 306, who have tried to keep me on a steady academic keel; to Miss Diane Greeter, who, either personally or through the ministrations of her assistants, has facilitated at divers stages the preparation of this report; and to the Social Science Research Committee, which has provided both a place and an atmosphere favorable to research work.

JOHN ALBERT VIEG

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CHAPTER I

EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT

EXPERIMENT IN DISJUNCTION

The purpose of this book is to examine the relation of education to government in the Chicago Metropolitan Region during the last generation and to point the way, if possible, toward the solution of problems that are now emerging. Education is not wholly a public function in the United States. In many cities throughout the country, as in Chicago, large numbers of children are being schooled under private auspices. In this study, however, attention is deliberately limited to the public-school system. The term "government" as used throughout generally signifies local political units like cities and counties, particularly the former. When employed in a broader sense, designed to embrace state or federal power, its meaning will, it is hoped, be made clear from the context.

As is indicated by the map serving as a frontispiece, the spatial delimitation of the Region made in this survey is based on that of Merriam, Parratt, and Lepawsky in their report five years ago on *The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago*. Their definition included all territory within a giant circle described by a fifty-mile radius from the corner of State and Madison streets in Chicago's Loop.¹ The metropolitan area is here defined to include thirteen counties; nine in northeastern Illinois,

¹ Charles E. Merriam, Spencer D. Parratt, and Albert Lepawsky, *The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), Frontispiece (hereafter cited as the Merriam Report).

three in northwestern Indiana, and one in southeastern Wisconsin. With the exception of two counties in Indiana (Jasper and Newton) and one (Berrien) in southwestern Michigan, which state is altogether omitted from consideration, all counties on the periphery of the fifty-mile circle have been included and included whole.

Underlying this procedure has been the thought that, if ever regionalism is given definite political recognition in this section of the United States, it may likely be on county lines, this unit of government, probably because of its size, having enjoyed increasing use in recent years. This is not to say that other boundary lines might not have just as much or more validity than those proposed here. One might well be justified, for instance, in adding Racine and Walworth counties in Wisconsin, as is now being done in the case of some other regional studies. Or, contrariwise, one might exclude all three of these counties north of the Illinois border as being more under the influence of the metropolis centering in Milwaukee than within the ken of Chicago. Likewise, with respect to Indiana, the student of metropolitan problems might expand the definition of Chicagoland by the inclusion of all or parts of Jasper and Newton counties, possibly even St. Joseph (thereby claiming South Bend), or he might let it suffice to include but a single segment, Lake County. It is submitted that, for present purposes, the delimitation established here is as useful as any other in defining the field for investigation. There is a double reason for being generous in drawing Chicago's regional boundaries. On the negative side there is no likelihood of an invasion of the Chicago Region by the influence of an adjacent metropolis. From the positive side, if and where the definition goes beyond present-day metropolitanism, a long-time point of

view demands that the student err rather on the side of including too much than too little.

Since in actuality there is no educational *system* for the Region, it has not been assumed on paper that there is one, and no attempt has been made to present by way of that approach a full picture, statistical or otherwise, of every one of the twelve-hundred-odd school units to be found within its geographic limits, as if by the mere fact of location within the "circle" they become parts of an articulated and comprehensive plan. The most striking thing about the Chicago metropolitan school "system" is that it is so unsystematic. What seems to be called for is a broad recognition of the fact that eventually the schools of the Region will have to reflect the life of the Region and that save for a few cities with unique traditions and practices, like Gary, Indiana, and Winnetka, Illinois, and a few others especially favored in so far as financial resources are concerned, e.g., Oak Park and Evanston, Illinois—save for these, the invariable rule will be "as goes Chicago, so go the suburbs."² Attention will accordingly be concentrated on the problems of the central city and of those minute school units which by their very diminutiveness of size and resources define impracticability, and some of which cannot much longer "go it alone."

As the starting-point of this study in time, the year 1910 has been taken wherever practicable. Several considerations prompted this decision: it offers the perspective of a

² School people, professional and lay, in the suburbs of Chicago have followed with the most faithful attention the advances and retreats of the Chicago public-school system. The reason is that, on the one hand, a reduction of school expenditures in Chicago can effectively be used in support of proposals for reductions locally, and, conversely, increased appropriations in the heart of the metropolis can be employed by the "friends of education" as leverage for increases in their respective suburbs.

quarter-century during which the areal pattern of regional governments has undergone few alterations and encourages the use with special relevancy of census figures for that decennial year; it agrees generally with the plan followed by the President's Committee on Recent Social Trends; and it approximates in time a milestone in the development of education in the heart of the Metropolitan Region, the first Armageddon in the twentieth century between the proponents of mass versus class education, namely, the vehement struggle over the proposal by former Superintendent Cooley of a bifurcated educational system above the eighth grade of the elementary school whereby a small group were to be prepared for college, and the great majority were to be trained for jobs in business and industry.³ Finally, both in Chicago and in the nation as a whole, there has developed during the last generation a degree of conscious reflection on the role of public education quite unprecedented.

Throughout the quarter-century 1910-35, public education has stood in a peculiar relation to the rest of local government.⁴ It has occupied a position accurately described by such words as "detachment," "separation," and "independence." It has been administered as a thing apart from the rest of government. There have been other instances of *ad hoc* jurisdictions, notably in the case of libraries and recreation. All these have stood out and away

³ See George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928), pp. 136-39. For a full account see also Edwin G. Cooley, *Vocational Education in Europe* (Chicago: Commercial Club, 1912), pp. 329-36. See also J. B. Edmonson's radio address, "Is There a Conspiracy against Public Education?" printed after delivery in the *Elementary School Journal*, June, 1934, pp. 721-23.

⁴ This "peculiar relation" was, of course, of long standing, even at the beginning of our period.

from the operation of the "regular" governmental services; but, because of its preponderance in expenditure and personnel, the public school represents this detached relationship better than any other function.

This investigation has been conceived therefore in terms of a problem in the interadjustment of governmental functions. Extended consideration has been given to the effects of the tradition and practice of independence in the chapters on administrative structure, finance, personnel, and politics. And, in a larger sense, this viewpoint permeates the entire work. The study consequently dovetails with two important research programs that have been in progress at the University of Chicago in recent years—the series of studies pertaining to various phases and functions of the government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago and the inquiry into school-city relationships in the United States recently completed by Nelson B. Henry and Jerome G. Kerwin.

DEMOCRACY AND THE CONSERVATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES

There are other viewpoints which ought to be clear at the outset: the school problems which this inquiry is interested in describing and understanding are the problems of education in and for a democratic society. Central to the study in all of its aspects, therefore, is the question of equality with its many ramifications—equality of financial burdens for taxpayers, equality of treatment for educational personnel, and, above all, equality of opportunity for the children and young people who comprise the greatest resource of the Region. It is not intended to imply that school children everywhere and at all times should receive identical or uniform treatment. That would be foolish.

The test of equality which this study would like to apply is: Does each child have opportunities for self-development proportionate to his individual capacities?

Most of the problems of educational administration in this great metropolis are not unique to this area; other communities in the United States have also been trying to adjust their schools to new conditions. Though Chicago in some ways presents these problems in a form *sui generis*, owing to the accentuation of the influence of urban-industrialism and the rapidity of its growth, it is not unlikely that what is learned here may have significance elsewhere.

It is elementary that a scientific investigation should be pursued disinterestedly, and an attempt will be made to do so. However, if it comes out that this book fails to achieve that fulness of abstract contemplation besought by observers who would sit blandly on an academic cloud and, pencil in hand, make note of the earth's every gyration as it rapidly "goes to pot," it may be some compensation that the observations made will have a little more relevance due to a realization of the immediacy of the educational necessities of the people of the Region and because of an acute awareness of the desperate plight to which some of the school districts within the metropolitan circle have been reduced. There has been no intention to slight the earlier phases of the period; nevertheless, emerging trends and problems have throughout been regarded as of more significance than developments in the less recent past.

SCHOOL POPULATION AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

There are in Greater Chicago some 1,350,000 children and young people between six and twenty-one years of

age.⁵ The human load which the schools of the metropolis are carrying at present does not, however, include the whole of this vast throng. In 1930, the latest year for which comparable statistics from all counties are available, there were almost nine hundred thousand in the seven-to-twenty age group attending school in the Chicago area, or 74.5 per cent of the total for that category (see Table 1). To this number should be added a figure to allow for those five and six years of age. Using the same method of computation as that employed for deriving the total regional school population results here in an estimated 150,000 pupils.⁶ All told, therefore, the schools of the Chicago Region are, in the fourth decade of this century, carrying a human load of approximately 1,050,000 pupils.

In order to derive from this huge total the attendance for the public schools exclusively, it is necessary to subtract from it the number being trained in private educational systems, or some 260,000 children.⁷ This leaves for the former a net educational responsibility of approximately 790,000 pupils, or 75 per cent of the total.⁸ They

⁵ Table I of the *Statistical Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Springfield, 1935) (hereafter cited as *Illinois Statistical Report*) gives Cook County a school-age population of 1,076,370 and the federal census of 1930 reveals Cook as having 79.4 per cent of the school population of the Region, hence the figure 1,355,000. For the seven-to-twenty age group, the United States census gives a regional population of 1,202,330.

⁶ According to the *Illinois Statistical Report, 1934-35*, p. 4, and the *Report of the Catholic Schools, 1934-35*, p. 17, Cook County had 116,000 children enrolled in kindergarten and first grade of her public and parochial schools.

⁷ This figure has been derived through dividing the enrolment in the private schools of regional Illinois by the percentage of the whole regional school population located in Illinois.

⁸ The writer must hasten to explain that it is difficult to secure from available school censuses the precise information one desires on the regional educational load without indulging himself in more interpolation than he thinks "safe." It has been necessary in securing a measure of actual attendance in the public

TABLE 1*

TOTAL POPULATION, SCHOOL POPULATION, SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, AND PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL POPULATION ATTENDING SCHOOL FOR 1930 AND 1910, BY COUNTIES AND SELECTED AREAS WITHIN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN REGION

AREA	1930				1910			
	(1) Total Popula- tion	(2) School Popula- tion: 7-20	(3) Persons 7-20 Attend- ing School	(4) Per- cent- age of Per- sons 7-20 Attend- ing	(1) Total Popula- tion	(2) School Popula- tion: 6-20	(3) Persons 6-20 Attend- ing School	(4) Per- cent- age of Per- sons 6-20 Attend- ing
Cook.....	3,982,123	955,358	707,219	74.0	2,405,233	657,732	389,321	59.2
Du Page.....	91,998	23,168	18,793	81.1	33,432	10,186	6,671	65.5
Grundy.....	18,678	4,998	3,563	71.3	24,162	7,666	5,160	67.3
Kane.....	125,327	30,262	22,788	75.3	91,862	25,707	15,945	62.0
Kankakee.....	50,065	12,279	8,939	72.8	40,752	11,446	7,211	63.0
Kendall.....	10,555	2,724	2,105	77.3	10,777	3,098	2,052	66.2
Lake.....	104,387	26,524	20,044	75.6	55,058	14,894	9,324	62.6
McHenry.....	35,079	8,167	6,837	74.6	32,509	9,370	5,907	63.0
Will.....	110,732	28,500	21,026	73.7	84,371	24,337	15,684	64.4
Illinois outside Cook	546,851	137,622	104,113	75.6	372,923	106,704	67,954	63.6
Total for Illinois..	4,528,974	1,092,980	811,332	74.2	2,778,156	764,436	457,275	59.8
Lake.....	261,310	70,570	54,362	77.0	82,864	21,222	12,713	59.9
La Porte.....	60,490	15,492	11,902	71.6	45,797	12,771	7,671	60.1
Porter.....	22,821	6,052	4,892	80.8	20,530	6,233	4,429	71.1
Total for Indiana..	344,621	92,114	71,156	77.2	149,191	40,226	24,813	61.7
Kenosha.....	63,277	17,236	13,084	75.9	32,929	9,452	5,707	60.4
Region outside Cook.....	954,749	246,972	189,073	76.5	555,043	156,382	98,474	63.0
Grand total..	4,936,872	1,202,930	896,292	74.5	2,960,276	814,114	487,795	59.9†

* Note the fact that for 1910 the census regarded school population as consisting of persons from six to twenty years of age, inclusive, and in 1930 adopted the seven-to-twenty basis.

† All figures based on U.S. Census, 1930, Vol. III: *Population*, Part I, pp. 615-20, 703-8; Part II, p. 1325; *ibid.*, 1910, Vol. II: *Population*, pp. 487-503, 557-61; Vol. III, p. 1089.

schools of the Chicago area to clear hurdles represented by these considerations: the federal census gives figures only for the seven-to-twenty age groups; the *Illinois Statistical Reports* give figures for attendance by grades, whereas neither the Indiana nor the Wisconsin reports offer this information; it is of the nature of figures on "enrolment" that they hide many duplications. The last actual enumeration of Chicago's school population was in 1916.

represent the present human load of the public schools of metropolitan Chicago, and it is mainly the responsibility for insuring their proper training that gives the study of the government of education in the Chicago Region social and political significance.

The total population of the Region increased 67 per cent in the twenty years from 1910 to 1930, or from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000; school population advanced 69 per cent, from approximately 800,000 to 1,350,000; and school attendance from almost 500,000 to 1,050,000, a gain of 110 per cent. Even more significant, however, is the fact that, of those regarded by the federal census as of school age in 1910, only 59.9 per cent attended school, whereas in 1930, the percentage stood at 74.5 (see Table 1).

If the trend of population growth just described were to continue at the rate of the last quarter-century, or even at something approaching it, the public schools of the Region would be destined during the next generation to devote a large part of their efforts to the solution of problems arising from the sheer magnitude of the human load. None of the specialists on population trends in the Region, however, is predicting for the metropolis during the next quarter- or half-century any corresponding advance. Greater Chicago, if not the central city itself, will grow in numbers but at a decreasing rate.⁹ The most acute problems of educational administration, in so far as the number of pupils is concerned, will arise not so much from the size of the group as from its age, grade, and locality distribution.

Without entering upon a discussion of the factors which

⁹ See Louis Wirth, "Chicago: The Land and the People," *Survey Graphic*, October, 1934, pp. 468-71, 520-25. See also Louis Wirth and Richard O. Lang, *Recent Trends in Population in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago*, forthcoming. See further their article, "A Glimpse of Chicago's Changing Population," *Polity*, February, 1936, pp. 4-5.

have caused it other than to suggest that the stoppage of European immigration and the spread of birth control are probably outstanding, it is patent that there have been in the last generation startling changes in the age distribution of the population of the Region. The shifts have come particularly in the lower age groups where they have the greatest significance for educational planning. The special Chicago census of 1934 makes it possible to secure a comparison for almost the precise period of this investigation. Percentages of the total population of Chicago in those

TABLE 2*
PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL POPULATION OF CHICAGO IN
SELECTED AGE GROUPS, 1934 AND 1910

Year	Percentage Under 5	Percentage 5-9	Percentage 10-14	Percentage 15-19
1934.....	6.62	7.58	8.19	8.71
1910.....	10.24	8.75	8.50	9.53

* Adapted from Charles Newcomb and Richard O. Lang (eds.), *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 11. For population pyramids of Chicago and the principal suburbs see chap. vi of the forthcoming Wirth-Lang study.

age groups of principal interest to educators for 1934 and 1910 are given in Table 2.

Chicago's birth-rate in the year before the war was 24.1 per thousand population. Two decades later it stood at an even 13; the rate for the first half of 1938 was 13.2.¹⁰ Membership in the first grade of the public schools passed its peak in 1924, in the second in 1925, in the third in 1926, and in the fourth in 1927.¹¹ The schools are rapidly

¹⁰ See report of the Chicago Board of Health as condensed in *Chicago Daily News*, July 14, 1938.

¹¹ George D. Strayer *et al.*, *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago, Illinois* (5 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), V, 34-35 (hereafter cited as the Strayer Report); see also *Chicago Tribune*, January 7, 1936, p. 12.

approaching a time when there will be substantially equal enrolments in all the grades of the elementary schools, not only in the central city but in the suburbs—either that or the lower enrolments will be in the lower grades.¹² Parochial-school enrolment exhibits the same tendency.

It is clear that save for kindergarten, and ultimately preschool and nursery, facilities—the former are not now available even in Chicago for more than six out of every ten children of that age—there will be no need in the Region of enlarging total capacity on the primary or elementary level. The proportion of children under ten has decreased by 3.6 per cent in a quarter-century, and there has been an absolute decline in the lower levels of this age group as well. There were eight thousand *fewer* children under five years of age in Chicago in 1934 than there were in 1910.¹³

What experts refer to as the “maturing” of the population of the Chicago area will not for some few years affect the problem of high-school attendance, as it has already done that of the elementary schools. A “drop” in both the number and in the proportion of children in all age groups is probably inevitable sometime within the next generation, but, because metropolitan Chicago still has thousands of children of high-school age not yet enrolled in her secondary schools, it is expected that throughout her territory she will need to plan in general on increasing educational facilities at this level. Ninety-seven and six-tenths per cent of Chicago’s children fourteen years of age attend school, and 92.2 per cent of those fifteen years of age, but for children in the sixteen-, seventeen-, eighteen-, nine-

¹² Cf. *Report of the Superintendent of Aurora (East) Public Schools, 1933-34*.

¹³ Charles Newcomb and Richard O. Lang (eds.), *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. xi.

teen-, and twenty-year age groups the corresponding percentages are: 73.4, 42.8, 24.9, 17.1, and 12.6.¹⁴ It goes without saying that, in this case no less than in that of the primary schools, it will be imperative to make every effort to locate these facilities where they will be of greatest utility.

This is no easy task. There is a three-way mobility of population in the metropolitan area which makes it extremely difficult to predict in one year what the spatial distribution of the inhabitants of the community will be five or ten years afterward, to say nothing of anticipating longer periods. In the first place, there is the broad tendency of people throughout the section in which a great urban center is located to converge on that center. Within the supercity itself, secondly, a continuous redistribution of population goes on as a function of its growth.¹⁵ Finally, there is the ceaseless daily traffic by surface, elevated, bus, suburban-electric or steam transport, or by private motor-car incidental to the work, the education, or the social intercourse of the people living in the metropolis.

All this coming and going proceeds with practically no regard for municipal boundaries. Consequently, though the difficulties of measuring and predicting it are great, the difficulties of doing something constructive about it are much greater. The areas of control have practically no relation to the larger area of mobility; each comprises no more than a segment of the whole Metropolitan Region. Elimination of some of the incongruence between problem zones and control zones is an indispensable prerequisite to

¹⁴ See Richard O. Lang, "Relation of Educational Status to Economic Status in Chicago" (University of Chicago dissertation [1936]), p. 3.

¹⁵ See the Merriam Report, pp. 1-10.

careful planning of school facilities. No matter how large it becomes, Chicago will never approach self-containment with reference to the sources of its school population. It would help greatly, however, to establish in the Region an area of educational planning of maximal size. The geographic base which educators (and governments generally) need for effective planning far outruns the limits of Chicago's corporate bounds; it is the area of metropolitan interdependence. The Region should profit from the expensive experience of the central city and not duplicate on a larger scale the unhappy arrangement of having in places of declining population sizable net surpluses of seats and in communities that are expanding huge net shortages.¹⁶

Two further aspects of the school population of the Region call for brief analysis: nationality and nativity make-up and racial composition. Up to 1920, according to Newcomb and Lang,

the significant population changes in Chicago were almost entirely due to the succession of racial and national groups. There was, as a consequence, a continuous process of replacement of one racial or nationality group by another more recently arrived from a foreign land. This succession took place in occupation as well as in habitat.¹⁷

Since the enactment of the selective and restrictive immigration laws of the 1920's, the mosaic of Chicago's nativity pattern has altered much less rapidly and significantly than it had previously. In all probability it will change still less markedly from now on. The problem of effecting happy readjustments among national groups will not unlikely become steadily less acute throughout the area, though the community is still far from having achieved a satisfactory solution of it. Both the Region and the central

¹⁶ Strayer Report, V, 33-34.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. x.

city have thousands of people who have not been constructively Americanized or assimilated.¹⁸

With cessation of immigration already easing the situation for Chicago and the Region, the problem may in fact be coming within the range of solution.¹⁹ Cook County's percentage of native whites advanced from 62.9 to 69.1 from 1910 to 1930. Other counties reveal the same tendency: Lake County, Indiana, which had the lowest percentage of native whites in 1910 also had the lowest twenty years later, but had progressed (arithmetically) from 62.6 to 68.7. Porter County, in the same state, highest in 1910 and highest likewise in 1930, jumped from 85.6 to 91.1.²⁰

Closely related to the ethnic composition of the population are the religious affiliations of the people. Many of the nationality groups subscribe to creeds holding that children should be educated under church rather than secular auspices. This makes religious composition a significant factor in the government of education. The most that can be done with the subject here, however, is to indicate, as has already been done, the extent to which private or parochial systems of education have been established to give tangible expression to this tenet.

As for problems of educational administration growing out of the racial division of her population, Greater Chi-

¹⁸ It is by no means intended to insinuate that holding to certain phases of a foreign culture is antithetical to the finest kind of Americanism.

¹⁹ Governor Henry Horner of Illinois has sponsored a new attack on the problem of Americanization within the last few years, giving special attention to the situation in Cook County.

²⁰ *U.S. Census, 1930*, Vol. III: *Population*, Part I, pp. 615-20, 703-8, 1324-25; *ibid.*, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 487-503, 557-61; Vol. III, p. 1088. See chap. iv, "Nativity, Color, and Nationality," of the forthcoming volume by Wirth and Lang on population trends within the Chicago Region.

cago seems to be facing no special difficulties. Only six of thirteen regional counties have as many as 2 per cent Negroes, and, of these, only two showed in 1930 as high a percentage colored as 6 per cent: Cook County, Illinois, with 6.2 and Lake County, Indiana, 9.1. No special study has been made of present or emerging governmental problems in the education of Negro children in Gary, the principal Indiana city in the Region having a large Negro population (this is not to imply that there *are* any special problems), but such a study has recently been made with reference to Chicago.²¹ It offers, in general, assurance that no difficulties need be anticipated so long as the Chicago Board of Education continues on its present nondiscriminatory course respecting its obligations to colored children and colored school teachers and employees.²² Most of the educational factors that contributed to the ill-feeling sustained by the Negroes toward the whites in the early post-war years appear to have been eliminated.

INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Much in contrast to the diminution in grade-school attendance is the astounding increase in high-school enrolment. Before the turn of the century the Illinois courts had decided that the constitution of the state, in declaring that "the General Assembly shall provide a thorough and

²¹ Cf. Mary J. Herrick, "Negro Employees of the Chicago Board of Education" (University of Chicago thesis [1931]). See also H. F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935).

²² If the school buildings in which Negro children are housed are in some instances less attractive than those for white children, it must be remembered that as a function of their economic status Negroes are simply forced to live in the older and poorer areas of the city where they get secondhand schools as well as houses, and that anticipations of the use to which certain areas may be put properly have their effect in discouraging, e.g., the erection of new buildings in some districts of the city.

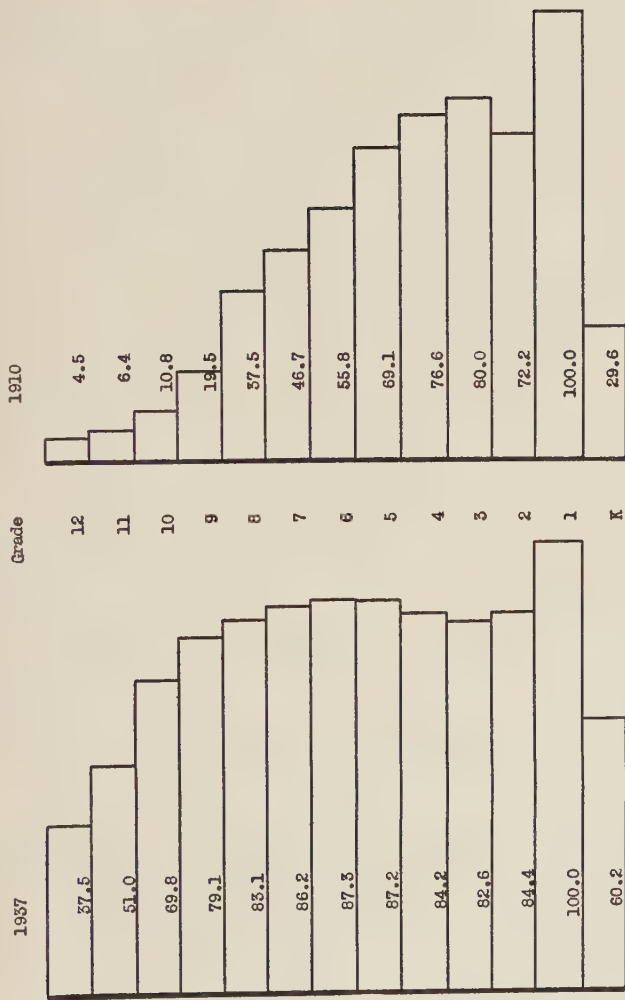
efficient system of free schools whereby all children of this state may receive a good common school education," had no intention of limiting such opportunity to the eighth-grade level. The phrase "common school" was to be honored rather by some such progressive interpretation as that which has been accorded the term "commerce" in the Constitution of the United States. Yet generally it was not until after the war that the children of the common man could look upon a high-school diploma as something within their reach. The recency of this trend is indicated in the fact that enrolment in Chicago's high schools in 1935 was approximately 100 per cent greater than in 1925. Moreover, the ratio of secondary- to elementary-school attendance is steadily increasing. Chart I shows graphically what many regard as the most significant of all attendance trends. Membership in every grade is shown as a percentage of membership in the first grade for the years 1909-10 and 1936-37.²³

Despite the huge increases in high-school enrolments which recent years have brought, there are still thousands of students of high-school age in the Region who are not enrolled in any school. In view of the fact that business does not have jobs for any great number of them, they will in growing proportion knock on the doors of the secondary schools. For their own good and that of the community it is imperative that opportunities be provided for their continued education. The public schools will have to enlarge their facilities generally on the secondary level. As to the number of new seats needed, no one will be able

²³ If first-grade enrolments of public and Catholic schools in Chicago for 1934 were combined, and the same done for twelfth-grade enrolments, the latter number would equal 48.2 per cent of the former. The respective figures are 66,871 and 32,260. They derive from figures given in the *Illinois Statistical Report* for 1933-34 and the *Report of the Catholic Schools* for the same year.

CHART I

RELATIVE ENROLMENT BY GRADES IN CHICAGO SCHOOLS IN 1937 COMPARED WITH
RELATIVE MEMBERSHIP BY GRADES IN 1910



NOTE.—The 1937 chart is based on figures combined from the *Illinois Statistical Report, 1937*, pp. 4-8, and from the *Annual Report of the Catholic Schools of Chicago, 1936-37*, pp. 15-17. Enrolment in both systems totaled 653,332. The 1910 chart is based on figures from the *Illinois School Report, 1909-10*; they are limited to membership in the public schools.

to ascertain that until certain issues of policy have been settled, but an examination of the effects of raising the school-leaving age may offer some clue.²⁴ The present Illinois law on compulsory attendance provides that "any person having custody or control of any child between the ages of seven and sixteen years, shall, annually, cause such child to attend some public or private school for the entire time during which the public school in the district wherein the pupil resides is in session," provided that children attending parochial schools conducted in the English language, children physically or mentally disabled, and children over fourteen "necessarily and lawfully employed" shall not be required to attend the public school.²⁵ Indiana's law is similar, but Wisconsin raised the upper limit to eighteen in 1935.

If considerations of the perils of idleness on the part of youth and the need for jobs on the part of adults should lead the legislatures of these three states to raise the upper compulsory school age limit, as has already been done, for example, in the state containing America's premier metropolitan area,²⁶ what would happen? The consequences may be classified conveniently under three heads: (1) probable number of additional high-school seats needed, (2) probable number of jobs released for adults, and (3) probable

²⁴ One effect of raising the school-leaving age would be to increase the cost of public education, and that on the level where it is most expensive. The median Chicago high school operated in 1934-35 at a current cost per student enrolled of \$105 (*Illinois Statistical Report, 1935*, pp. 178-79).

²⁵ *The School Law of Illinois* (Springfield: Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1935), sec. 2745, pp. 141-42. In Illinois the minimum number of months of public schooling per year is eight, in Indiana seven, in Wisconsin nine (see *Laws of Wisconsin, 1935*, chap. 161, pp. 215-16).

²⁶ See *Educational Law Supplement, 1935* (Albany: University of the State of New York Bulletin, April, 1935), p. 16.

number of new teaching positions created.²⁷ The facts for Chicago and the whole Region are given in Table 3; they are based on census figures for 1930.

TABLE 3*

EFFECT IN THE CHICAGO REGION OF ADVANCING AGE OF
COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE TO INCLUDE ALL
PERSONS IN INDICATED AGE GROUPS, 1930

Area and Age Group	Probable Number of New Seats Needed in High Schools	Probable Number of Jobs Released for for Adults	Probable Number of Additional Teachers Needed
Chicago:			
10-15.....	8,468	1,637	282
10-17.....	55,908	35,702	1,864
10-20.....	189,608	155,041	6,320
Region:†			
10-15.....	10,108	2,266	334
10-17.....	66,917	42,996	2,231
10-20.....	227,417	185,905	7,581

* All figures based on *U.S. Census, 1930*, Vol. II: *Population*, pp. 1197-1216, excepting those on new teaching positions; the third column simply gives the quotient of the figures in the first column divided by thirty, on the basis of a pupil-teacher ratio of 30 to 1.

† "Region" here means the total for all cities over 25,000 population, there being fifteen of them. The census on which this table is based did not furnish the data by counties.

It will doubtless be objected that arbitrarily to raise the school-leaving age would work serious hardship upon those families in which the wages of minors are relied upon for all, or even a portion, of the family budget, unless, coincidental with the application of the requirement of attendance, provision were made for the support of those families, including the children themselves. The answer

²⁷ It is possible, of course, that instead of using the public schools to keep American youth occupied, the United States may go in for a greatly expanded Civilian Conservation Corps or some modification of it.

is: Such provision should be made or exemptions should be allowed.²⁸

It may also be objected that to add to the cost of education at a time when school districts are deeply in debt and finding it difficult to collect present taxes would be impractical irrespective of how desirable the purpose for which the increased cost is incurred may be. There is much to be said for the argument. It is also impractical, however—some would say more so—to allow a generation to be “lost” through being suffered to spend some of the most critical years of life in inglorious inactivity, especially the joblessness of poverty. No one has shown how a generation can be trained to intelligence and industry without its costing something. Is it necessary to apologize for the fact that a good idea entails large expenditures? During the worst of the depression it would admittedly have been out of the question to have raised the school-leaving age to, say, a flat eighteen or nineteen even if such a law would have helped thousands of minors to avoid the ravages of worried idleness and would have released thousands of jobs for unemployed adults. The expense would have been prohibitive;²⁹ besides there would not have been sittings for so great an increase in enrolment. But a beginning might and

²⁸ The mothers' and children's sections of the Social Security Act already give assurance that this assistance will be forthcoming in some measure (see Katharine F. Lenroot, “Children in the Social Security Program,” *National Municipal Review*, April, 1936, pp. 200–204).

²⁹ Annual *current* expense alone for educating the 227,417 students who would have been added to the rolls throughout the Region by such a requirement (see Table 5) would have been almost \$24,000,000. This figure is based on the assumption that the per-student expenditure would be the same as that for the median high school in Chicago during 1934–35, viz., \$105. But such a huge addition to the enrolment would also necessitate a large capital outlay.

should have been made by advancing the age of compulsory attendance to a flat fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen.³⁰

Another serious problem is that of equalizing educational opportunity above the high-school level. Figures available today are nowhere near accuracy or adequacy, but they are nevertheless sufficiently reliable to indicate that only by expanding once again the meaning of the term "good common-school education," will it be possible to honor the ideal of equality of educational opportunity.³¹

Granting that a sizable fraction of persons eighteen to twenty attending school are Juniors and Seniors in high school, and allowing for the fact that high-school graduates were, generally speaking, chronologically older in 1910 than they are today, changes in percentages on these items may perhaps be examined for broad indications of what

³⁰ For all regional cities over 25,000 the added cost (computed as in the preceding footnote) of raising the school-leaving age to a flat seventeen would be slightly more than \$7,000,000 annually on the basis of nonattendance in 1930.

³¹ Superintendents and principals are thoroughly agreed on the desirability of keeping records of their high-school graduates, yet it has not been possible to find a single public school in Chicago possessed of such a file. For the city as a whole, the best data the superintendent in charge of high schools could offer was a set of tables showing, for the last three semesters, the number of graduates of the thirty-odd schools, who *intended* or *hoped* to continue their education. Hyde Park High School, in the vicinity of the University of Chicago, had a file of cards showing for recent years which graduates wrote asking for transcripts of credits, but it had no evidence as to how many of these actually enrolled on a college campus.

The explanation for this regrettable lack of such important statistics is, for the most part, to be found in the extreme paucity of clerical help allotted to the principal's office. The venerable assistant superintendent referred to above, when asked for figures on this item, simply threw up his hands and exclaimed: "I've been hoping for twenty-five years to get just such data, but the clerical aid provided is so meager that we are unable to do properly even that which is required, let alone anything like this."

has been happening to opportunities for higher education.³² While the figures on county totals show definite differences, they are not of great magnitude. In the entire Region in 1910, 8.8 per cent of persons in this age group attended school; by 1930 the figure had risen to 19.1. The range in the first year was from 6.2 per cent in Lake County, Indiana, to 17.3 per cent in Du Page of Illinois. (Porter of Indiana is ruled out as atypical; besides it has less than 1 per cent of the entire population of the Region.) The range in 1930 was from 13.7 per cent for Grundy County, Illinois, to 27.7 in Porter and 27.0 in Du Page. Lake and Cook counties of Illinois and Kenosha County, Wisconsin, made the greatest advances during the period, climbing 12.9, 11.0, and 11.4 per cent, respectively (see Table 4).

Compared to these mild differences as revealed by counties, the city differentials are nothing less than startling (see Table 5). They show incontestably that that great American ideal of equality of educational opportunity vanishes into thin air in the Chicago Region in so far as college training is concerned. What is much more serious, however, is that the inequalities are on the increase. The table shows that the range between the lowest and highest cities in 1910 was 9.8; twenty years later it was 44.4. Considering the decade 1920-30 separately, it becomes plain that as a general rule those cities already toward the top when the war ended were able to make the greatest proportional advance during the post-war years and that, conversely, those behind the procession in 1920 were still farther behind ten years later, despite the fact that they too had improved their position on an absolute

³² The phrase "higher education" need not and should not connote a serious break from the secondary level. The present tendency toward integrating the last two years of high school with the first two years of college may and does justify this indirect method of studying opportunities for "higher education."

TABLE 4*

GAINS IN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN CHICAGOLAND, 1910-30
BY COUNTIES AND SELECTED AREAS

AREA	IN- CREASE IN PER- CENT- AGE OF CHIL- DREN AT- TEND- ING SCHOOL IN 1930 OVER PER- CENT- AGE IN 1910	PER- CENT- AGE OF CHIL- DREN 7-20 IN SCHOOL, 1930	PER- CENT- AGE OF CHIL- DREN 6-20 IN SCHOOL, 1910	PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN 18-20 IN SCHOOL			GAIN IN PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN 18-20 IN SCHOOL SINCE	
				1930	1920	1910	1920	1910
Cook.....	14.8	74.0	59.2	19.2	10.5	8.2	8.7	11.0
Du Page.....	16.7	81.1	65.5	27.0	19.8	17.3	7.2	9.7
Grundy.....	4.0	71.3	67.3	13.7	10.8	9.6	2.9	4.1
Kane.....	13.3	75.3	62.0	19.5	14.1	13.6	5.4	5.9
Kankakee.....	9.8	72.8	63.0	16.8	11.7	10.0	5.1	6.8
Kendall.....	11.1	77.3	66.2	19.5	17.8	11.5	1.7	8.0
Lake.....	13.0	75.6	62.6	22.5	8.1	9.6	14.4	12.9
McHenry.....	11.6	74.6	63.0	19.2	11.9	12.4	7.3	6.8
Will.....	9.3	73.7	64.4	17.2	13.6	8.4	3.6	8.8
Illinois outside Cook..	12.0	75.6	63.6	20.3	12.2	11.3	8.1	9.0
Total for Illinois...	14.4	74.2	59.8	19.3	10.7	8.6	8.6	10.7
Lake.....	17.1	77.0	59.9	16.0	7.3	6.2	8.7	9.8
La Porte.....	11.5	71.6	60.1	18.2	10.1	11.0	8.1	7.2
Porter.....	9.7	80.8	71.1	27.7	18.7	41.8	9.0	-14.1
Total for Indiana..	15.5	77.2	61.7	17.1	9.0	13.7	8.1	3.4
Kenosha.....	15.5	75.9	60.4	18.7	11.4	7.3	7.3	11.4
Region outside Cook.....	13.5	76.5	63.0	19.0	11.2	11.7	7.8	7.3
Grand total...	14.6	74.5	59.9	19.1	10.6	8.8	8.5	10.3

*U. S. Census, 1930, Vol. III: *Population*, Part I, pp. 615-20, 703-8; *ibid.*, 1920, Part II, p. 1325; *ibid.*, 1910, Vol. II: *Population*, pp. 487-503, 557-61; Vol. III, p. 1089.

TABLE 5*

GAINS IN PERCENTAGES OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF PERSONS
EIGHTEEN TO TWENTY YEARS OF AGE IN REGIONAL CITIES
WITH POPULATIONS 10,000 OR MORE IN 1930

PERCENTAGE ATTENDING	1930	1920	1910	INCREASE OF 1930 FIGURES OVER	
				1920	1910
Aurora.....	18.1	11.1	8.9	7.0	9.2
Berwyn.....	18.8	10.1	.....	8.7	.....
Blue Island.....	11.5	9.2	.....	2.3†	.....
Brookfield.....	19.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Calumet City.....	11.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chicago.....	18.2	9.8	7.7	8.4	10.5
Chicago Heights..	13.6	9.6	.....	4.0	.....
Cicero.....	13.2	3.3†	.....	9.9	.....
East Chicago.....	17.2	5.6	.....	11.6	.....
Elgin.....	20.5	12.3	15.5‡	8.2	5.0
Elmhurst.....	25.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Elmwood Park.....	7.0†	.....	.....	.....	.....
Evanston.....	45.8	32.8‡	.....	13.0‡	.....
Forest Park.....	15.1	4.7†	.....	10.4	.....
Gary.....	17.0	7.4	.....	9.6	.....
Hammond.....	12.9	6.5	.....	6.5	.....
Harvey.....	15.7	.....	.....	.....	.....
Highland Park.....	41.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Joliet.....	22.0	12.5	5.7†	9.5	16.3
Kankakee.....	20.6	13.2	.....	7.4	.....
Kenosha.....	19.6	10.6	.....	9.0	.....
La Grange.....	49.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
La Porte.....	22.2	11.5	.....	10.7	.....
Maywood.....	24.7	15.7	.....	9.0	.....
Melrose Park.....	8.8†	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan City.....	14.8	6.5	.....	8.3	.....
Oak Park.....	43.2	31.4‡	.....	11.8	.....
Park Ridge.....	37.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Waukegan.....	22.7	10.9	.....	11.8	.....
Wilmette.....	51.1‡	.....	.....	.....	.....
Winnetka.....	41.4‡	.....	.....	.....	.....
Whiting.....	15.5	6.9	.....	8.6	.....

* U.S. Census, 1930, Vol. III: *Population*, Part I, pp. 628-31, 715-17; *ibid.*, 1920, Vol. III: *Population*, pp. 261-64, 297-99, 1131-33; *ibid.*, 1910, Vol. II: *Population*, p. 505.

† Low.

‡ High.

scale. Evanston, with 32.8 per cent of her children eighteen to twenty years of age in school in the earlier year, was able to achieve a clear 13.0 per cent gain during the decade; whereas Cicero, with but 3.3 per cent of this age group enrolled at the beginning of the period, was able to gain not quite 10.0 per cent.

What explanations may be offered for this trend? Certainly, differences in race, language, family background, and tradition are not unimportant factors. But the economic differential is the one that is most basic. Elmwood Park, with 7.0 per cent of persons eighteen to twenty attending, Melrose Park with 8.8, Blue Island with 11.5, Calumet City with 11.6, Hammond with 12.9, and Cicero with 13.2 are all cities on or near factory areas where heads of families are uniformly employed in the Region's industrial army at rather low annual wages—if they are employed at all. It is this fact that sets such a great gulf between cities of the kind just mentioned and those sylvan suburbs along the beautiful north shore like Evanston, Wilmette, and Winnetka. These cities very naturally head the procession with respect to keeping their children in school. Evanston in 1930 had 45.8 per cent of her youth in the age group under consideration in school; Wilmette had 51.1; and Winnetka, well known as a "model village," topped the list for the entire Region with a percentage of 51.4.

There is only one practicable method of eliminating these serious inequalities: within the system of public common schools there must gradually be established a full complement of what may be called "people's colleges." As long as the 8-4 plan of elementary and secondary education is retained, this would mean junior colleges superimposed above, and as an extension of, the high school. Al-

ready there are eight of these in the Region;³³ the number should be increased until every able and deserving high-school graduate in the area who wants such training can get it without traveling much farther or incurring greater expense than in the case of high-school training. California has no less than thirty-six such institutions.³⁴ If, however, the 6-3-3 plan should be adopted generally in this area, a better organization of people's colleges would be to join the last two grades of secondary training (or three, depending on the possibility of "saving" a grade through improved pedagogy) with what are now the Freshman and Sophomore years in a four-year college and leave to universities worthy of the name, public or private, the task of supplying advanced or graduate training.³⁵ Graduation from such a people's college might even be marked by an A.B. degree. By making such opportunities for education through the fourteenth grade available free to all children, the public-school system will probably have done quite as much as could ever reasonably be expected of it.

Chicago's restoration of her junior-college facilities in the fall of 1934, after suspending them for a year, is one of the most constructive actions taken within the central city of the Region since the debacle of July, 1933.³⁶ In

³³ There are three in Chicago, one each in Cicero, La Grange, Joliet, Harvey, and Gary, with a total enrolment of 7,252 (see D. S. Campbell, "Junior College Directory, 1936," *Junior College Journal*, January, 1936).

³⁴ C. H. Judd, *Problems of Education in the United States* ("Recent Social Trends" Monograph [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933]), p. 61.

³⁵ Such a system may be put in the perspective of contemporary educational thought by comparing it with plans considered in L. V. Koos, *The Junior College Movement* (New York: Ginn & Co., 1925); Judd, *op. cit.*; and Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

³⁶ See *Chicago Daily News*, July and August, 1933, for the story of the worst setback ever forced upon the Chicago schools.

place of one large college—Crane, 1911–33—there are now three smaller ones with a combined enrolment (June, 1938) of 4,200.³⁷ This by no means inconsiderable attendance would, by accrediting of the colleges and expanding their facilities, be increased markedly.³⁸ The principal drawback today seems to be the feeling that the Board of Education has not plainly demonstrated that it regards the junior college as a permanent addition to the public-school system of the city, worthy of the same steady support as the elementary school and the high school.

Lack of money in the home has constituted and will continue to constitute a big reason why even those high-school graduates without jobs do not always enrol in the free public junior colleges of the city. Tuition is not the only expense involved in attending college, and, if a boy's or girl's family cannot provide the wherewithal to care for the other expenses, the child fails to enrol. During the past few years the National Youth Administration has made available limited funds whereby students could help themselves meet these incidental costs, but it has not been able to set aside sufficient money really to meet the need.

During the academic year 1935–36 N.Y.A. gave financial aid monthly to an average of 7,858 high-school and 4,319 college students in the nine Illinois counties of the Chicago Region. Total expenditures amounted to \$858,248. During the year 1936–37 it helped an average of 10,271 students, expending \$38,889 monthly for high-school and \$56,857 for college students. The former may

³⁷ Information from the secretary of attendance of the Chicago Board of Education. Attendance in 1935 amounted to 5,829 (cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 212–13).

³⁸ One of the first extensions of facilities to be made should be the establishment of a free evening junior college. Petitions for such an extension were circulated last spring by a committee of students in Chicago's evening high schools.

earn as much as six dollars per month; college undergraduates earn between fifteen and twenty dollars, and graduate students may be paid from thirty to forty dollars per month.³⁹

Somewhat constructive public assistance of another kind has come to unemployed and unenrolled young men (and women) in the Chicago Region in the form of positions in the Civilian Conservation Corps and, though it is of lesser importance, the Works Progress Administration of the federal government. Service in neither of these enterprises is entitled, on the basis of educational values derived therein, to be ranked with attendance at a well-administered junior college. Yet, not being without important benefits to the young people involved, these methods of keeping American youth constructively occupied may properly be considered in this connection, particularly that "most creditable of all the New Deal agencies," the C.C.C. Open to men between the ages of seventeen and twenty-eight, inclusive, the Corps has enrolled several thousand men continuously in the Illinois counties of the Chicago Region since it was first established in 1933, taking them for half-year enlistments every April and October and paying them thirty dollars per month. Registrations as of April, 1935, and April, 1936, are shown in Table 6.

Beneficial as the program has been in many ways, it will, if continued permanently, have to be re-examined as to its basic purposes. The most likely alternatives are vo-

³⁹ Information secured from the Illinois headquarters of the National Youth Administration, William J. Campbell, director. During 1937-38 N.Y.A. expenditures for Cook County alone were \$465,518; aid was thereby extended to 8,589 high-school and college students.

cational or military training, preferably the former. This choice should, moreover, be given a counterpart in the form of a program for the vocational training of young women. Such provision as has been made for unemployed and nonattending girls of college age through the N.Y.A. and W.P.A. programs has been grossly inadequate. The

TABLE 6*

C.C.C. ENLISTMENTS IN THE NINE ILLINOIS COUNTIES OF THE CHICAGO REGION, APRIL, 1935, AND APRIL, 1936

County	1935	1936	County	1935	1936
Cook.....	4,071	3,048	Kendall.....	11	16
Du Page.....	94	69	Lake.....	107	51
Grundy.....	19	19	McHenry.....	36	54
Kane.....	128	124	Will.....	113	105
Kankakee.....	51	36	Total.....	4,630	3,522

* Figures secured from Chicago headquarters of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

“forgotten young man” has been partially remembered; the “forgotten young woman” is still largely forgotten.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADULT EDUCATION

There are two new groups attending the public schools, either one or both of which may become numerically important in the Chicago Region in the next quarter-century. The first comprises children of preschool age. Child-experiment stations have long since demonstrated how profitable it can be for them to begin training as early as the age of two—to say nothing of how great a relief it must be to the mothers of some of them to be free from the burden of constant care. It is not at all unlikely that better times may bring the preschool, by degrees, into the public-school

system.⁴⁰ Provision of facilities for the other group is, however, much more urgent.

The second group includes potentially the whole adult population of the Region. Correspondence schools, private forums, libraries, lyceums, and chatauquas—all these have rendered and still are rendering great services to adults anxious to continue their education, but it has been generally recognized in the past few years that, if ever a program of adult education worthy of the name is going to reach the masses of the American people, it will have to be under the auspices of, and as a part of, the public-school system.⁴¹

Three classes need to be provided for. In the first division are those whose training has been limited to the elementary school and who, well along in adult life, realize that they have not even gotten a start at "learnin'." They need opportunities to complete the elementary- and high-school grades and opportunities to get the fundamentals of grammar and citizenship such as are now fairly well provided by the night schools and special day and evening classes of the Chicago Board of Education.⁴² In the second division are those who, their vocational skills rendered obsolete by technological advances in industry, need industrial rehabilitation. Some first steps have been taken toward the supplying of this type of training by

⁴⁰ During the years 1935-37 the Chicago Board of Education has been experimenting in this field through financial assistance from the Works Progress Administration. It has maintained some forty preschool classes, most of them in settlements. Through similar aid the Chicago Park District has been conducting approximately twenty-five preschool play groups.

⁴¹ See Judd, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-77; John W. Studebaker, *The American Way* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935), and *Plain Talk* (New York, 1936).

⁴² Citizens' Schools Committee, *Chicago's Schools*, September, 1935, p. 1.

the Chicago Board, but by and large the task is still unsolved.⁴³

The third group is composed of those thousands of people who, though possessed of high-school and perhaps even junior-college training, and though secure and satisfied in their jobs, have lately in increasing numbers begun to ask themselves, "Why stop learning?" With democracy on trial and with the pattern of modern civilization becoming ever more complicated, these are the people par excellence that Studebaker and others have in mind as constituting the audiences for what they hope will be a great network of public forums wrestling with the problems of the present age throughout America.⁴⁴

Present experiences with the first two types of adult education in Chicago and present knowledge of ten experimental forums in selected cities throughout the country leave no room for doubt that more or less formal acceptance by the public schools of responsibility for adult education is only a matter of time. Inevitably it will entail material increases in school expenditures. But the work is not only worth while; analysis of some of the darker pages of contemporary social history demonstrates that it is quite indispensable. There is, moreover, a bright side to the picture. Financial support for enlarged high schools and junior colleges and for an expanded program of adult education will become progressively easier due to the fact that the number of children to be cared for per 1,000 adults is steadily declining. Twenty-five years ago, or in 1910, there

⁴³ It is not implied that the public schools should train for specific trades. Emphasis should be placed on "those operations and processes common to a number of occupations and industries."

⁴⁴ See United States Office of Education, *A Step Forward for Adult Civic Education* (Bull. 16 [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936]).

were in the United States about 680 children under eighteen per 1,000 adults twenty to sixty-nine; in 1930 there were but 600, for 1950 the trend line drops to approximately 430, and for 1970 it drops again to approximately 370.⁴⁵

Not including the work of the three junior colleges, the current program of the Chicago Board of Education offers these facilities for free adult education:

Evening high schools (six) for persons over sixteen years of age, giving complete, accredited high-school courses plus some informal classes. Enrolment in 1937 totaled 23,627.

Day classes in English and naturalization for foreign-born at many locations in the city and day elementary classes for adults through the eighth grade at Dante School, some seventy altogether. Registration for the year ending in June, 1937, totaled 7,727.

Adult Education Program (formerly E.E.P.) financed by federal funds (W.P.A.), supervised by the superintendent of schools, and using classroom space wherever it can be obtained without cost; this program embraced last year approximately 1,400 classes and 24,000 students in many fields including workers' education, parent education, academic subjects, social studies, home economics, handicrafts, commercial subjects, naturalization and citizenship, music, drama, and art. The largest enrolments are in the twenty-to-thirty age group.⁴⁶

This program is creditable, but it is not enough. Lang, in his study, "The Relation of Educational Status to Eco-

⁴⁵ These figures have been derived by inspection from a graph prepared for a report on population trends to the National Resources Committee. As of 1930 this report shows further that in the Middle States (one of six regions employed for convenient presentation) there were only 423 children age five to seventeen per 1,000 adults age twenty to sixty-four. The Northeast was lowest with 420 and the Southeast highest with 603 (see Newton Edwards, "Education and Social Change," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, July, 1935, pp. 244-59).

⁴⁶ These data are taken from *Illinois Statistical Report, 1937*, p. 233; Board of Education, "Report of Americanization Classes, 1937" (mimeographed); W.P.A., "Annual Report on Adult Education Program in Chicago" (Chicago, December, 1937), pp. 46-47 (mimeographed). To Floyd Mulkey, supervisor of one of the larger districts on the South Side, the author is indebted for a general description of how this plan works both for teachers and for students.

omic Status in Chicago," has shown just how far Chicago is from having an educated adult population. Basing his analysis on the special Chicago census of 1934, he discovered that 111,071, or 4.7 per cent, of all persons eighteen years of age and over had never completed the first grade in school and that, at the other end of the scale, only 8.7 per cent had gone as far as the thirteenth grade. Despite the immense increase in high-school enrolment during the last quarter-century, 60.6 per cent had only eighth-grade training, or less.⁴⁷ These findings, supplemented as they are by numerous census-tract distributions, not only underscore the need for a thorough program of adult education but disclose precisely those census-tract areas of the city where the necessity is greatest and afford some basis for determining what the content of the programs in the various communities should be.

THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SOLUTION

It is comparatively easy to point out new and constructive tasks for the public schools of the Region to undertake. Many of them are almost too obvious for comment. Meanwhile the schools are not having too much success handling their present obligations. How resolve, if at all, the difficulties of enabling them to do their present job better and their new work well?

This book argues that the way to begin is to acknowledge the complexity and depth of the problem, to differentiate its most pertinent aspects, and to propose alternative solutions for each, taking care that what is suggested under one heading will not preclude the facile operation of remedies set out under the others. There is need at the start for the perspective of history. Careful attention must be

⁴⁷ Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

given to the size of governing units for education and perhaps even more thought to the legal and operational relations of school administration with other local governmental authorities. Sources of school revenue and methods of controlling expenditures must be chosen and utilized with reference to the financial practices of cities, counties, and whatever additional public agencies operate in the community. Personnel policies in the schools cannot be determined wisely unless employment in education be conceived as but one field of a wide public service. Some study must be made, furthermore, of the relations appropriate in a democratic society between those engaged in public and in private employment. Finally, since no one can sustain much interest in making recommendations that will only be ignored, some consideration must attach to the question of how to secure the acceptance or adoption of the various proposals outlined. The body of this book is built upon such an understanding of the complexity of the problem of the government of education in metropolitan Chicago.

CHAPTER II

THE PERSPECTIVE OF A GENERATION

A quarter-century is but a brief interval in the life-cycle of a nation or even, for that matter, of a city. When the political and educational developments of a single generation are visualized against the background of the entire history either of America or of Chicago, they naturally do not attain either the uniqueness or the prominence ordinarily ascribed to them. Seen to be but a later and more advanced stage of a process that had its origin in the remote past, they create rather the impression that the more things change the more they remain the same. Within the time span of the period beginning about 1910 there have occurred, however, a number of significant political and educational changes both in the nation and in the Chicago Region. It is the purpose of this chapter to pass them in review.

NATIONAL BACKGROUND IN GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

All the basic national movements in the field of government recorded by President Hoover's Commission on Recent Social Trends have conditioned to some extent the development of affairs in the great Chicago Region. Both the number and the scope of governmental activities have undergone an unprecedented extension.¹ There has been a

¹ See Carroll H. Woody, *Growth of the Federal Government, 1915-1932* ("Recent Social Trends" Monograph [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933]).

swift growth of the functions of public authority on every level arising first out of war and prosperity and forced later by the ravages of depression. In either case the underlying cause has been the same—the American industrial economy. Its productive capacities have made possible countless enlargements and improvements in public services; its weaknesses on the side of distribution have driven governmental authorities to acknowledge “the new imperative” that people shall not starve when, through no open fault of their own, they lose means of sustenance.

Parallel with the extension of functions has come a marked increase in public expenditures and, inevitably, a comparable growth in the volume of taxation. Federal, state, and local governments have all found it necessary to exact larger and larger amounts of taxes. These levies have not entailed proportionally heavier burdens upon the public on account of their size, however, because increases in taxation have been more than offset normally by increases in the national income. There are grave defects in the present American revenue system, but they have not resulted from multiplication of the total volume of taxation. They derive from failure to adjust methods of taxation to changes in the nature and form of national income. The last quarter-century has witnessed the accelerating transformation of American wealth from “solid” into “fluid” forms, yet only the federal government and a few of the states have made the appropriate accommodations in their revenue systems. No factor is more potent than this one in conditioning the type and quality of service which either government or education is enabled to render.²

² See “Government Finance in the Modern Economy,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1936.

In sharp contrast with these developments has been the halting and uncertain progress made in the direction of modernizing either the areal bases or the administrative machinery of American public authorities. On the one side, there has been

the rapid extension of governmental activities and costs . . . on the other, the relatively slight change in governmental units, organization, methods and personnel. New functions are welcomed, but corresponding changes in the direction of unity, coordination, capacity and competence of political power are either resisted or tardily and reluctantly accepted.³

In the sphere of education, national trends of the last generation may be grouped under four classifications: (1) curriculums and organization, (2) teachers and teaching problems, (3) administration and control, and (4) scientific studies of education.⁴ Through broadening of the traditionally "liberal" curriculum at all levels and inauguration or extension of facilities to provide opportunities for persons of all ages, abilities, and aptitudes have come a democratization of school program and enrolment making the American educational system the most important of all agencies for insuring equality as the basis of the American way of life.

The steady professionalization of the teaching staff is charted partially in statistics on increasing years of preparation in better normal schools and teachers' colleges, in higher standards for licenses, in improvements in status and tenure, in widespread though far from universal advances in salaries, and in a growing proportion of men teachers. It is also evidenced in more conscious reflection

³ President Hoover's Commission on Recent Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1923), p. 1536.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-81, *passim*.

by teachers on their role in society, in their successes in building up strong professional organizations, and in their growing concern for the most cordial relations, if not formal affiliation, with perhaps the only other equally great democratizing influence in the country—the labor movement.

With respect to administration and control, trends discernible in education have considerable relation with tendencies already noted in the field of government. There has obtained throughout the twentieth century extreme decentralization of school government with consequent diversity of practice and procedure; increased and increasing federal participation in education; growth in control by the various states as seen in prescriptions on curriculums, attendance, salaries, pensions and tenure, powers of school executives and boards of education, and general supervision by state departments of education; an advancing program of health education; sporadic efforts to include religious instruction within the school program; tightening of the battle lines over educational finance; and recognition of the necessity for more effective regulation of private educational institutions, for control of athletics, and for the regulation of military training in the schools.

Illustrations of tendencies toward scientific studies of education are available in many forms: in increasing reliance upon the survey as a method of research; in the continuance of the "child-study movement" through experimental psychology inaugurated in the 1880's; in the urge for precise measurement of intelligence and achievement; in the practice of setting up research bureaus in city, state, and national departments of education; in the many co-operative and searching inquiries that have been made into the relation of American education to the Amer-

ican social and economic order;⁵ and, perhaps above all, in the notable work done in university schools of education, frequently with financial encouragement from great philanthropic foundations.

THE MAELSTROM OF EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN CHICAGO

With the foregoing nation-wide picture as a background we are prepared to trace developments more or less peculiar to the Chicago area. In the sphere of education these are some of the more significant: the tremendous growth in population accompanied by changes in age composition; creation in the Illinois and Wisconsin sections of the Region of a network of high- and non-high-school districts overlying the older elementary districts; infiltration of the Negro in great numbers with accompanying racial problems; the fluctuating militancy of the teaching personnel and their dawning realization of the fact that, despite their habiliments and their belonging to a "profession," they are workers; recognition of changes in the occupational pattern of the Region as exemplified in the construction of technical high schools; the introduction, operation, and then abrupt discontinuance of the junior high schools in the central city; the building of "that exclusively industrial city," Gary, Indiana, famous in educational circles as the "home" of the platoon school; pioneering in individualized instruction by Winnetka; and the rise of one of the nation's greatest systems of parochial schools, enrolling today approximately one-third as many students as attend the public schools.

⁵ Significant among these have been the investigations of the Progressive Education Association, the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association, the *Social Frontier*, and the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association.

Educational policy in Chicago itself has zigzagged up through the years following what Counts has called "the clashing philosophies of superintendents." Ella Flagg Young wrought mightily to infuse the Chicago schools with the principles associated with the names of Francis W. Parker and John Dewey. Charles E. Chadsey came from Detroit prepared to inaugurate a new era of progress after the quiescent war term of John D. Shoop, only to run into some of the most insolent treatment ever accorded a superintendent of schools by the board of education of a great city. Peter Mortenson, entering office under the cloud of having connived in the unprofessional attack upon Chadsey, failed to effect any great advance of professional standards, though he did contribute to the morale of the instructional staff by encouraging the organization of teachers' councils. William McAndrew, destined to be ousted at the end of the farcical "trial" for un-Americanism and insubordination in 1927, administered the public schools for three and a half years in the manner of big-business management, trying to get the schools to accept standards narrowly utilitarian.⁶ William J. Bogan during eight lean and hectic years steered a middle course characterized more than anything else by an effort to maintain the basic school services intact and operating, realizing that it would never be possible in later, better years to make amends to a generation deprived of its educational birthright. William H. Johnson, present head of the Chicago system, has been in office too short a time to delineate his philosophy. There are some signs that he may turn out to be a genius for sponsoring right ideas in the wrong way.⁷

⁶ George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1928), pp. 62-84, *passim*.

⁷ See the *Report of the Superintendent of Schools of the City of Chicago, 1937*, for a generous review of his ideas and methods of adapting education to the needs and interests of the students.

There was even less of a metropolitan school system in 1910 than there is now, but the problem of metropolitanism had not then reached an acute stage in the vicinity. Then the propriety of decentralization in school and local government was almost unquestioned; now the state of Illinois seems on the verge of accepting some of the responsibilities inherent in the doctrine that "education is legally a function of the state." Then government and education faced the somewhat simpler difficulties of an incipient metropolitanism.⁸ Today they are confronted with the bafflingly complex needs of five million people living in inextricable interdependence. The atmosphere in the year opening the period of this study was one of comparative security and complacency. Shortly before the war, however, the Cooley proposal to sidle the great majority of elementary-school graduates into vocational training precipitated vehement controversy, and the dynamics of post-war life have never permitted a restoration of anything like calm.⁹

The vicissitudes of Chicago's schools cannot be understood apart from the political warfare that has drained the energies of the city's population almost constantly during the period under review. What has happened in and to the schools has to a large extent been a function of what has transpired in the local political arena. It becomes indispensable to set down consequently the principal develop-

⁸ The reader will misunderstand if he infers that all was serene prior to 1910. During the early years of the decade prior to that date the Chicago teachers, mainly under the leadership of Catherine Goggin and Margaret Haley, "went into politics" for the first time—never to leave the field (cf. Theodore W. Robinson's address before the Merchant's Club of Chicago, December 8, 1906, in a pamphlet published by the club, *The Public Schools and Their Administration*).

⁹ A faint echo of this controversy may be found in a discussion of the need for trade schools in Chicago by John Fitzpatrick and Victor Olander, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in *Chicago Daily News*, December, 19 1936, p. 4b.

ments in Chicago politics. The dominant notes have been the bitter and frenzied rivalry between the bosses and machines of the two major parties and the continuous factional struggles for control within each.

Until recently Republicans and Democrats have been fairly well matched, and this circumstance has but contributed to the vehemence of the never ending struggle. Each party had control of the City Hall for twelve years of the twenty-four from 1911 to 1935. Harrison (1911-15), Dever (1923-27), Cermak (1931-33), and Kelly (1933-35) held the title for the Democrats, and Thompson (1915-23 and 1927-31) carried the standard for the Republican party. The victory of Edward J. Kelly in the election of April, 1935, assures the Democratic organization of power down to 1939 and, over the whole period, gives that party the better of the argument in so far as possession of the all-important office of mayor is concerned.

But to name these nominal officials is not necessarily to name the "powers" that have run the city. Behind the formal officialdom one must search for invisible rulers.¹⁰ Sometimes the man who has seemed to hold the reins actually has held them. Yet not infrequently the real boss or bosses have been content to let someone else occupy the limelight—at any rate the center of it. The consequences for government and education have been momentous. The city and its services have often been controlled by men behind the scenes, and it has become increasingly difficult for the people to exert direct pressure whether for education or anything else.¹¹

¹⁰ See Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (New York, 1931), p. 482.

¹¹ Theoretically the system of elective boards of education or school directors does make it possible outside corporate Chicago for the public to exert direct pressure on their school authorities. Actually the people are so overburdened by

Within both major parties there have been many leaders who have favored a type of government open and above-board; within both likewise there have been those who have preferred to wield power without accepting responsibility for the manner of its use. No one can claim that the latter have been the more numerous group, but it is clear that many regard them as having been the more influential in fixing the terms and setting the conditions of the civic struggle. Bosses and combinations, visible and invisible, supported by understandings and agreements with both underworld and upperworld have to an unusual degree been regarded as norms in the public life of the nation's second city.¹²

As a part of this general invisibility there have been the biased influences of organized capital, organized labor, and organized interests of a thousand shadings, the "confusion of fact and fable among the churches," and the "conflicting counsel of the daily press." It is out of all this vast and varied interplay of symbols, pressures, forces, and influences that Chicago's government has taken at any given time its dominant note and program. No one can treat the government of public education realistically who does not keep this political setting in the foreground of his thinking.

numerous elections and long ballots that they omit to take advantage of what are supposed to be opportunities for expressing their opinions. School elections universally draw the smallest total vote of all elections, excepting possibly elections for judges.

¹² Recent literature descriptive of the Chicago situation includes Charles E. Merriam, *Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics* (New York, 1929); John Bright, *Hizzoner Big Bill Thompson* (New York, 1930); Fletcher Dobyns, *The Underworld in American Politics* (Chicago, 1934); William H. Stuart, *The Twenty Incredible Years* (Chicago, 1935); Junius, "Democratic Chiefs Mourn Loss of Cermak Finesse," *Chicago Daily News*, March 4, 1936; Editors of *Fortune*, "The Nash-Kelly Political Machine," *Fortune*, August, 1936.

FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION AMONG
INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

The theory that school districts are completely independent of, and separate from, the regular agencies of government and of, and from, one another has tended to break down in practice in many American communities during the last quarter-century. Under modern urban-industrialism the threads of civic life are so closely interwoven that it has become increasingly inexpedient, impracticable, and undesirable to maintain on any level of government a congeries of mutually non-co-operating enterprises, all serving, and deriving their support from, the same people. While the old forms are often cautiously maintained, the facts of public management show that by co-ordinating services of a similar nature administrators have contrived to achieve in practice something of the efficiency and economy which the law does nothing to encourage.

There are several significant instances of this trend in the metropolitan area.¹³ For many years the Chicago Board of Health, the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, and the directors of the Public Library have been co-operating formally with the Board of Education in administering school health and library service. Other worth-while but less comprehensive systems of co-operation have been worked out between Chicago's schools and those governmental agencies in the city intrusted with the functions of recreation, control of delinquency, and tax collection. Examinations for noneducational personnel of the Board of Education are handled by the city's Civil Service Commission. Finally there have grown up in the Region several

¹³ To V. O. Key, Jr., acknowledgments are due in this chapter for having assembled most of the historical materials delineating the evolution of these present modes of co-operation.

types of co-ordination among the independent school districts themselves. The sections that follow give a brief description of each of these methods whereby legally separate governmental units co-operate in the discharge of functions in which they have a common interest.

COLLABORATION IN SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICE¹⁴

Recognition of the convenience of the schools as an agency in combatting communicable diseases prompted the initiation of co-operative relationships between the Chicago health department and the Board of Education more than forty years ago. Four decades have elapsed since the inauguration of medical inspection of school children in 1896. During this time the idea of caring for the health of the city's children as a joint enterprise can hardly be described as having undergone a steady and luxurious growth, but it has on the whole flourished rather than languished. The prevention of epidemics through detection of contagion has always been integral to the plan, but new features have from time to time been grafted upon the core so that in the late 1920's, when the program was functioning at its best, school health service included not only control of communicable diseases but physical examinations, oral hygiene, treatment for tuberculosis, sight-saving, and health instruction as well.

For a number of years the system necessarily went through an experimental stage, neither party to the venture being clear in its mind precisely how much responsibility it should assume. In 1900, for example, fifty medical inspectors were employed by the Board of Education and assigned to duty on the staff of the commissioner of health.

¹⁴ To Dr. Henry C. Niblack, director of the Bureau of Child Welfare of the Board of Health, who answered a multitude of questions respecting school health service, the author desires to acknowledge his obligations.

This was an advantageous arrangement; yet, after a single year's trial, it was abandoned in favor of independent operation by both organizations. Considerable confusion was the outcome. Cases reported by teachers to medical inspectors were never followed up. At the end of five months all but ten of the inspectors were discharged due to a shortage of funds. These remained on the staff for seven years, visiting schools mainly on emergency calls.¹⁵ Inspection was handled in this desultory fashion until the spring of 1907, when an epidemic of scarlet fever led the City Council to act on the plea of the health commissioner for additional inspectors. One hundred and fifty were supplied during the emergency, and, of this body, one hundred were retained permanently.¹⁶

Organization of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium in 1916 was the occasion for a further expansion in the program of disease control. This relatively independent authority, interested in the discovery and eradication of tuberculosis, furnished fifty physicians and fifty nurses to the Department of Health. Though compensated by the Sanitarium, they worked as members of the departmental staff engaged in the control of disease and in the administration of physical examinations.¹⁷

Service continued on this scale for several years until in February, 1919, relationships between municipal and school officials being discordant, the City Council adopted a motion that "the expense of medical and dental inspection and similar activities be not maintained out of the corporate revenues of the city of Chicago after April 30, 1919."¹⁸ This action, coupled with the rendition by the

¹⁵ *Report of the Department of Health, 1911-18*, pp. 491-92.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 492-93.

¹⁸ City Council, *Proceedings*, February 21, 1919, p. 1682.

attorney for the Board of Education of an opinion that it was without power to appropriate funds for this purpose, created an emergency. While it lasted, service was maintained on a reduced basis, first by an arrangement between the commissioner of health and the Tuberculosis Sanitarium whereby they agreed to "carry" the staff of school physicians and nurses during September, and thereafter through willingness of the employees to serve without pay during November and December in the hope that the City Council would reconsider its stand and appropriate funds for salaries after January 1, 1920.

John Dill Robertson, then commissioner of health, addressed a letter of explanation to the Council in November, 1919, in which he argued for the reacceptance of the health function as an obligation of the city corporate rather than of the Board of Education. His most telling argument—and it is as valid today as it was then—was that nothing but confusion and hard feeling could result from a plan under which the Department of Health would try to control contagious diseases off the school grounds and the Board of Education combat them on the school premises.¹⁹ Diseases are notoriously no respecters of *ad hoc* jurisdictions; the only way to control them is to unify all activities designed for that purpose so that control will follow the child effectively both on and off the school grounds. Acknowledging that the work of the doctors and nurses was needed, the Council restored items for school health service in its budget for 1920 and also made adjustments for the services that had been rendered during the emergency.²⁰

In the seventeen years that have elapsed since, the Chicago health authorities have at all times been clothed with

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, November 24, 1919, pp. 1383–86.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1920, pp. 2389–90.

full responsibility for detection and control of contagious diseases in the schools. Students suspected either by teachers or by Board of Health physicians are examined during the first hour of each school day; all who are found to be infected are segregated and prohibited from attending classes until a permit has been issued.²¹ Chicago's enviable record in avoiding contagious disease in recent years offers some evidence of the success of the arrangement.²²

Because it involves a special case of fighting communicable disease, Chicago's plan of combatting tuberculosis should be described next, even though some of the other phases of the co-operative health program were launched earlier and despite the fact that the independent Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium rather than the Board of Health is the agency with which the Board of Education co-operates. This *ad hoc* agency, Chicago's chief instrumentality since 1916 for coping with the dreaded "white man's scourge," is governed by a board of three directors appointed by the mayor. Of the three, one must be a member of the Board of Health. Until recently, the commissioner of health himself served on the Sanitarium board, not infrequently as its president. Of late years relations between the two bodies have not been harmonious, however, and the commissioner has not held a director's chair.²³

²¹ The Bureau of Communicable Diseases has centered its efforts in the last few years on smallpox and diphtheria. During the three years 1933-35 not more than an average of three cases of smallpox was reported annually for the whole city. Incidence of diphtheria for 1935 was less than one-fourth of that for 1931, and for the first quarter of 1936 not a single case was reported (information from the Chicago Board of Health).

²² This inspectional program is unfortunately confined to the elementary schools; physicians and nurses are not available for the high schools.

²³ V. O. Key, Jr., unpublished manuscript, pp. 19-20, and *Chicago Daily News Almanac*, 1937, p. 879.

School children showing symptoms of, or susceptibilities to, tuberculosis are referred to Sanitarium dispensaries for examination and treatment. Where the examination reveals a condition of lowered vitality, the Board of Education has arranged accommodations in open-window rooms. In 1937 twenty-nine schools had such rooms.²⁴ Children enrolled in them were supplied with medical and nursing service under the supervision of the dispensary near which the school was located. The Board of Education provided cots, blankets, Eskimo suits, and three glasses of milk daily. Lunches are made available at a cost of five cents. Sanitarium nurses care for crippled children afflicted with tuberculosis of the bone who are enrolled in special schools,²⁵ and the Board of Education in turn provides a branch school at the main quarters of the Sanitarium for tubercular children confined there.²⁶

Permission to examine children for physical defects was granted to the Department of Health by the Board of Education for the first time in 1908. Shortly afterward a visiting-nurse service was established in order to follow up the work and persuade parents to have the family physician take care of the defects, or, if financially unable, to have the remedial work done at a charitable dispensary. Part of the money for defraying salaries of nurses was furnished in the beginning by the Visiting Nurse Association, but the city assumed all expenses after 1910. At its best the program attempted to do two things: (1) examine every child upon entrance to kindergarten or first grade and again, during the last year of the elementary school, to

²⁴ *Directory of Chicago Public Schools, 1936-37.*

²⁵ Chicago Principals' Club, *Fifth Yearbook*, pp. 32-38, *passim*.

²⁶ Here again the facilities and program of the board are restricted mainly to elementary-school children.

check on the defects corrected; and (2) administer special examinations to pupils in intermediate grades at the request of principals, nurses, teachers, or parents.

Marked fluctuations in volume have characterized the service in the quarter-century since its inauguration. With two atypical years eliminated,²⁷ Department of Health reports reveal a range in the annual number of examinations during the first decade of from 43,000 to 93,000. Similar variations have marked the service in the last decade and a half. In 1921, 49,000 pupils were examined; from 1922 to 1927 no less than 126,000 were tested every year. Since then, the fluctuations have been enormous: 1928, 82,000; 1929, 146,000; 1930, 91,000; 1931, 139,000; 1932, 80,000; and 1933, 10,000.²⁸ The huge drops in these last two years were due partly to depression curtailment of staff but mainly to the fact that most of the time and effort of school health workers was given over to prevention of diphtheria.²⁹ During the years 1933-38 there was no formal program of physical examination, and no count was made of the number examined.

On the initiative of the health department there was launched in 1929 a two-year program of physical examinations and remedial measures in four selected demonstration areas within the city in which the Bureau of Child Welfare, school authorities, medical and dental associations, the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, and various parent-teacher organizations all co-operated. Three of the areas were poverty-stricken, the fourth a middle-class community; they were all "local community areas" as defined

²⁷ In 1913 only 3,000 examinations were given; in 1916, on the other hand, there were 191,000.

²⁸ The Board of Health has published no report since 1933.

²⁹ *Report of the Board of Health, 1933*, p. 18.

by the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago. The project paid large dividends from the start in bringing all these groups into a better understanding of the problems of child health in Chicago, and, as a function of the immediate enterprise, corrective measures were taken in a higher percentage of cases of physical defects than was secured generally in the remainder of the city. When the dentists and doctors, once generally opposed to school health work, realized the immensity of the task confronting the Department of Health and the thousands of cases that could only be handled on the basis of part-pay or out-and-out charity, much of their stock hostility to public clinics and dispensaries disappeared.³⁰

It has been by no means the least of the evils that have befallen Chicago's school children that, just after this successful demonstration of both what needed to be done and what could be done, this phase of health work had to undergo sharp retrenchment. Sometime in 1930 the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium cut its school force in half and, in June of 1932, discontinued the service entirely.³¹ In September of 1932 the health department itself was forced to discontinue most of its work of examination except that in special schools for delinquent children.³² During 1932 and 1933 the Chicago Medical Society tried to meet a part of the need for this work, examining some 10,000 children in 1932 and some 7,000 the following year. But there were no provisions for follow-ups, and many of the potential benefits of this free service were lost.

Efforts of the Chicago Dental Society led to the installation of the first school dental dispensaries, though not

³⁰ *Report of the Department of Health, 1926-30*, pp. 259-69.

³¹ Strayer Report, III, 146.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

without opposition from the profession. This was in the year 1910. Funds furnished by Julius Rosenwald enlarged the service to ten dispensaries two years later; then, in 1915, the Department of Health took over entire responsibility for the work, placing it in the Division of Child Hygiene of the Bureau of Medical Inspection.³³ After occupying a variety of administrative positions, the service was in 1929 set up as the Bureau of Dental Hygiene in the Department of Health. Since early in 1932, however, it has been listed as a division within the Bureau of Child Welfare. Intermittent disputes between the Board of Education and the City Council as to who should pay for the work have marked the history of dental hygiene in Chicago's schools. Had it not been for the assistance given by the Chicago Dental Society then and since, the whole venture would have gone by the boards in 1919 and might have lost out several times thereafter.

When a survey of dental needs in some sample schools in the spring of 1928 demonstrated that hardly as many as 4 per cent of Chicago's children had perfectly sound teeth, the commissioner of health, representatives from the dental society, and several civic bodies prevailed on the City Council to appropriate \$55,000 for the Bureau of Dental Hygiene during the first six months of 1929 on the understanding that the Board of Education would provide an equal sum for the last half of the year.³⁴ The Board of Education had pleaded a want of legal authority to appropriate funds for such a purpose; yet, when the legislature had specifically given permission,³⁵ the Board objected

³³ H. N. Bundesen, "Health Service in the Schools of Chicago," *Eleventh Yearbook of the Department of Elementary School Principals* (Bloomington, 1932), p. 500.

³⁴ *Report of the Department of Health, 1926-30*, pp. 295 ff.

³⁵ *Laws of Illinois, 1929*, p. 704.

that its financial condition did not warrant fulfilment of its part of the bargain. Under the circumstances the Council furnished the funds for the last six months of the year, also contingent upon repayment by the school board later. There still rests in the files of the Board of Education a request by the city comptroller for reimbursement.³⁶ The school dental program in the period following has been but a skeleton of that for 1929. In that year the health department expended almost \$98,000 for school dental service; by 1933 the corresponding amount was \$36,300; in 1935 the appropriations for the Division of Dental Hygiene totaled \$45,000; for both 1936 and 1937 they amounted to \$54,000.

Though the Board of Education has thus consistently declined to make expenditures for dental hygiene, it has, at least since 1921, encouraged the program of oral hygiene by dental instruction. Beginning with an appropriation of \$6,000 in the year mentioned, it increased its support to approximately \$14,000 annually during the period 1926-31. The purpose of this work was to inculcate in school children correct habits in caring for their teeth. The several dental hygienists employed by the Board of Education worked under the direct supervision of the Department of Health. In 1932, however, the Board eliminated this item from its budget save for the agreement to pay the salary of a supervisor to oversee the work of three dental hygienists who were furnished to the schools by the Chicago Dental Society.³⁷ The 1935 budget of the Board listed but one item for dental instruction, viz., \$1,561; the 1936 budget omitted it entirely.

Findings in a two-year survey of children's eyes in one

³⁶ Information from Board of Education, *Proceedings*, March 23, 1932, p. 1413, and from the office of the auditor of the Board, April, 1936.

³⁷ Board of Education, *Proceedings*, June 29, 1932, pp. 1657-58.

of the schools of the city from 1919-21 were responsible for launching the public-school sight-saving program in Chicago. Out of 680 pupils examined by two ophthalmologists paid by the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, 335 were found to be suffering from defective eyesight and 103 showed symptoms of eyestrain.³⁸

Spurred by these discoveries, school physicians of the Department of Health began to devote careful attention to children's eyes. Cases requiring specialized care were referred to the Chicago Ophthalmological Society and the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness; others were placed in sight-saving classes provided by the Board of Education.³⁹ In the latter part of the 1920's the two public agencies took over the work almost completely and administered it in routine fashion. In 1930, when it became necessary to cut the city budget for health service, the Society for the Prevention of Blindness stepped in again and paid the salary of one worker in the Bureau of Child Welfare to aid in ocular work in the schools.⁴⁰ Of 11,654 pupils examined in 1932, some 2,000 were discovered to have defective vision, and 49 were referred to sight-saving classes.⁴¹ Recently effort in this field has been considerably augmented, but through a W.P.A. project under the Board of Education rather than by the Board of Health.

Though the Board of Education had for some years furnished a course of study in health instruction for six grades of the elementary school and had made a time allowance for it in the daily program, the Strayer staff in 1932 found

³⁸ *Report of the Department of Health, 1919-21*, pp. 112-13.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1923-25, pp. 256-58. See also W. H. Wilder, "Sight Saving in Chicago Schools," *Chicago Schools Journal*, IX (1929), 373-75.

⁴⁰ *Report of the Department of Health, 1926-30*, p. 275.

⁴¹ *Report of the Board of Health, 1932*, p. 17.

health teaching in the grammar grades "quite disappointing" and in the junior and senior high schools "desultory in form and spirit."⁴² This circumstance was attributed to lack of a supervisor skilled in the work more than to any other factor. The need has not since been supplied.

To sum it all up, aside from the service furnished by the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, most of the health work now done in the schools of Chicago is done through the Bureau of Communicable Disease and the Bureau of Child Welfare of the Board of Health of the city of Chicago without expense to, or supervision by, the Board of Education.⁴³ The general arrangement is one of some forty years' standing, and, though it involves some administrative inconveniences and complications, there is every reason for expecting it to continue. Not least important among the factors that may be counted upon to maintain it indefinitely is the appreciation had for it by the private schools of the city and their never-to-be-doubted unwillingness to lose so great a boon. Up until 1931 the two bureaus performed their separate functions in the schools by independent direction from their directors in the City Hall. Since that year there has been achieved an informal, voluntary but nevertheless effective co-ordination, like an "interlocking directorate," worked out mainly to accommodate principals and teachers who were desirous of having inspection for contagious illness completed by ten o'clock in the morning so that interference with class work would be held to a minimum.

All told, the Board of Health has approximately 150

⁴² Strayer Report, III, 160-61.

⁴³ Optical and dental aid does not exist for high-school students save in a few schools where the faculty or some other organization sets up a fund to alleviate the neediest cases.

physicians and 165 nurses engaged in school health activities.⁴⁴ The nurses give full time to the service, but the doctors, who are divided into two groups, all maintain private practices in addition to what they do for the Board of Health, and hence give but part of their time to the work. Ninety-one of the physicians are classed as "school health" officials and work daily from nine until noon during ten months of the year; the others, sixty in number, are denominated "field health" workers. They are subject to call twenty-four hours a day during the entire year whenever the Board of Health gets information on a case of contagious disease.

In all this the Board of Education does no more than furnish an "office" for doctor and nurse. This may vary from satisfactory accommodations in some of the newer buildings to a "corner in the hall" or a "stairway landing" in some of the older structures. School dental service reveals the same condition. By no means adequate to meet the needs of the seven hundred thousand children in the schools of Chicago, it is nevertheless of great value. The Board of Health has sixteen dental clinics of its own, a few located in social centers, most of them in school buildings. Here again the Board of Education contents itself with furnishing a room or rooms; the Board of Health supplies equipment and personnel.

Because the Board of Health makes no effort to segregate those moneys representing health work in the public schools, it is quite impossible to state other than within

⁴⁴ These figures are from the director of the Bureau of Child Welfare. Maintenance of schools for cripples is not normally classified as health work, but it may be noted that, despite what appears to be the Board's general disinclination to make appropriations for health work directly, it has been anything but niggardly in expenditures for the physically handicapped. The Spalding and Christopher schools are some of the finest institutions of their kind in the world.

broad limits the financial cost of the service it renders yearly through this program of co-operation with the Board of Education. A rough estimate for 1935 placed the amount expended in both public and private schools at something between four and five hundred thousand dollars.⁴⁵ Since then, due to complete salary restorations in 1937, there has been an increase of approximately 20 per cent.

DEVELOPMENT OF LIBRARY SERVICE

In its legal status the Chicago Public Library resembles in many ways the Chicago public-school system. It is an *ad hoc* agency governed by a board of directors appointed by the mayor and enjoying, save in respect of finance, quite as much autonomy as the Board of Education. During the entire quarter-century covered by this study, it has been rendering some kind of formal service to the schools of Chicago. Prior to 1915 this consisted in supplying loan deposits of fifty books per classroom to teachers asking for illustrative materials to supplement the textbooks purchased by the pupils and the meager collections of reference works furnished by the Board of Education. Public and private schools were given this assistance on the same basis.

In 1916 the city librarian, being persuaded that ways might be developed for giving high-school students better service, offered to establish school libraries in six senior high schools to demonstrate what might be done. The plan was limited to public institutions, and it served to in-

⁴⁵ The estimate is based on the following data: school and infant welfare, \$326,000; school health officers, \$107,000; field health officers, half of \$83,590 for that part of their work done in schools; allowance to field health and school health officers for use of personally owned cars at \$42.50 per month, \$59,000; dental hygiene personnel for sixteen clinics restricted to use of school children, \$45,000; *minus* a 21 per cent reduction to allow for a 78-day forced cut (see Chicago Appropriation Bill for 1935: Board of Health).

roduce a much closer relationship between these two great educational agencies—public library and public-school system—than had existed theretofore. There is no evidence available to show that it was the intention of the librarian to inaugurate a program of the kind that has since developed. What seems to have prompted the action was the thought that a revelation of what the schools should have in the form of book and librarian service might lead the Board of Education to vote the funds necessary to provide it. The Board had had no positive library policy up to that time.

Three libraries were set up in high schools during the school year 1915–16, and three more the year following. The experiment was a thorough success. But, instead of volunteering to take over the maintenance of the service as the city librarian had anticipated, the Board of Education simply accepted the contribution with gratitude and did nothing. The head librarian died in 1917, and three years later the secretary of the library board, being opposed to the continuance of the service because of the expense involved, closed all the school libraries and a number of branches as well.

Public opinion refused to tolerate curtailment of this vital function.⁴⁶ With the library directors standing on the ground that maintenance of school service always had been outside the sphere of their real responsibilities, the Board of Education had no alternative but to agree to assume part of the cost of the service from January, 1921, and on. Nevertheless, it hedged for two months; only on March 1, when it contracted to pay the salaries of librarians for the remainder of the year, did the school libraries reopen—and then with reduced staffs.

⁴⁶ *Report of the Chicago Public Library, 1920*, p. 16.

After a two year's trial of this *modus operandi* the directors of the two agencies concluded a more formal plan for the allocation of costs and supervision of the service; with few exceptions or alterations, it is the agreement governing their co-operative program today. It provided that the library should supply books, magazines, supplies, and

TABLE 7*

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS WITH AND WITHOUT LIBRARIES
OPERATED BY THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY

Year	With	Without	Year	With	Without
1916.....	3	21	1927.....	13	11
1917.....	6	18	1928.....	14	10
1918.....	6	18	1929.....	14	10
1919.....	6	18	1930.....	14	10
1920.....	7	17	1931.....	18	6
1921.....	7	17	1932.....	18	6
1922.....	7	17	1933.....	18†	6
1923.....	7	18	1934.....	36§	0
1924.....	7	18	1935.....	39§	0
1925.....	10	14†	1936.....	39§	0
1926.....	10	14	1937.....	40§	0

* See the *Annual Reports* of the Chicago Public Library.

† First junior high schools established.

‡ Junior high schools abolished.

§ Figure includes two of three branches of City Junior College. In 1937-38 libraries were also being operated in eight branch high schools.

binding and select and direct the staff at work in the school quarters; in return the Board of Education was to reimburse the library board for all salaries of school librarians and their assistants.⁴⁷

On this more harmonious basis the program of co-operation was extended in the years following until it includes today no less than thirty-seven high schools and two junior colleges. The growth of the plan is shown in Table 7. While the junior high schools existed, they were supplied

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 23.

with the same service as the senior highs only on a smaller scale. There were eight such junior high libraries in 1925 and nineteen at the time of their abolition in 1933.

One or two important changes have been made in the terms of the co-operative plan in recent years. The library now defrays only the costs of general administration, special supplies, cataloguing, and binding; the Board of Education bears the cost of books and magazines, as well as the salaries of librarians. In view of the fact that it has been necessary in the last few years to purchase approximately eighty thousand books to bring high-school libraries up to North Central Association requirements, this change has been rather costly for the latter.⁴⁸ Payments by the Board of Education to the library for salaries alone amounted to nearly \$90,000 in 1935 and approximately \$100,000 in 1936. Its appropriations for 1937 and 1938 were \$125,000 and \$150,000, respectively.⁴⁹

In addition to the assistance described above, the library makes available to each of the high schools supplementary book collections with delivery service on a weekly basis. With respect to the three-hundred-odd public elementary schools, the library offers directly from its main building, as it has for many years, an annual classroom deposit service. Each elementary teacher may request at September's opening of the schools a collection of as many as fifty books for her classroom. These are in no case duplicates but simply books designed to supplement the free texts supplied by the Board of Education. From its stock of children's books, conveniently classified by grades, the library fills the order as accurately as facilities permit,

⁴⁸ *Report of the Chicago Public Library, 1935*, pp. 44-45.

⁴⁹ Board of Education, *Proceedings, 1935*, p. 557; *1936*, p. 498; *1937*, p. 666; *1938*, p. 651.

delivers it during the first month of the school year, and calls for it again the following June.⁵⁰ The very number of the grammar schools and the shortage of trucking service on the part of the library make it impossible to supply any services intermediary during the year.

Indicative of an appreciation that has been consistent for over fifteen years, more than twenty-five hundred teachers in as many classrooms asked for such collections both in 1934 and in 1935.⁵¹ They represented approximately two hundred and fifty grammar schools, and their orders accounted for the overwhelming portion of the hundred and twenty-five thousand books loaned by the library to public schools in classroom deposits last year. This service is utilized annually by approximately one hundred private grammar schools as well. Their great reliance upon this assistance is one of the reasons why the general program is probably destined to endure into the future.

Recently the director of the Schools Department of the Chicago Public Library has been experimenting with a new style of service for the elementary schools which gives promise of making administrative co-operation between the Board of Education and the board of directors of the library even more satisfactory than it is at present. "Fifteen schools, selected for their special facilities and modern type of organization," have been equipped with "unit libraries" in the form of "well-balanced collections of some

⁵⁰ Scheduled to go into effect in some buildings in the fall of 1938 was an alternative plan whereby, through designating one room as a library room, an elementary school could secure better-balanced collections in the amount of one hundred volumes for each grade. These would be on long or indefinite loan.

⁵¹ *Report of the Chicago Public Library, 1935*, p. 30.

600 volumes per school, carefully selected and correlated to the teaching program and completely catalogued and classified before delivery." It is reported that results thus far have "fully demonstrated the superiority of this kind of library installation in schools prepared to make the most of it over the 50-book room deposits."⁵² The plan had grown by 1938 to where it embraced thirty schools.

Officials of the Chicago Public Library set aside in 1923 a room known as the Teachers' Room and generously equipped with materials designed to be of practical assistance to instructors in the preparation of classroom teaching and in keeping up with the profession generally. Conveniently accessible in this room are most of the important pedagogical journals and books of current interest and a rich assortment of texts for all grades. There are, in addition, bulletins, tests, and pamphlets of all kinds. To render this wealth of material more useful and usable, staff members in charge of the service mimeograph a monthly bulletin detailing new accessories, copies of which are distributed to teachers through the office of the superintendent of schools.⁵³

Despite the success of the program described above, some administrators at the Chicago Public Library regard school service as a marginal activity. Among the reasons for this attitude is the fact that the library has for years made an effort to encourage children to use the branch libraries. They frankly admit the library's responsibility to the youth of Chicago, but insist that it can be better discharged through the juvenile department, created in 1927, than through the schools. This department recruits from

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

⁵³ See "The Superintendent of Schools Advisory Council and Its Committee Work, 1932" (mimeographed leaflet).

the library staff persons especially facile in dealing with children and gives them a brief annual training course to assist them in their work. Recently there have been approximately fifty children's librarians. They work mainly through reading clubs conducted in branch libraries. When requested by principals and teachers, these children's librarians also give four-lesson courses in the public schools on the use of the library.⁵⁴

School librarians—of which there were in 1938 about one hundred—are members of the staff of the Public Library and on the library pay roll. They are required to meet the standards set by that organization for its own staff (though there are three different gradings in their personnel rating system) and they take all their official orders from the director of the Schools Department in accordance with an agreement between the Board of Education and the library board. As required by the American Library Association and the North Central Association, one librarian is appointed for every one thousand students or major fraction thereof whenever and wherever a high school is equipped with the requisite number of six books per student in its library.

In the large, principals, teachers, and librarians have worked together harmoniously in the various schools even though the last named have been under the supervision of a director located "off the campus." Now and then it has happened that a high-school principal has opposed the application of regulations centrally initiated—such, for example, as the stipulation that, when a student loses his library card, he must pay ten cents for a new one—even when it has been perfectly plain that the librarian in charge had no discretion in the matter. A telephone con-

⁵⁴ See *Report of the Chicago Public Library, 1930*, pp. 33-36.

ference between the director of the Schools Department of the Public Library and the assistant superintendent in charge of secondary schools invariably straightens out the difficulty; but the offering of the original resistance indicates that a principal is better satisfied with the administrative setup when he has the "whole school under his control."⁵⁵

One of the clearest evidences that librarians assigned to the high schools still do not think they are appreciated at their full value is reflected in the 1935 annual report of the library. Commenting on the immensity of the task of "cataloguing and classifying the vast flood of books purchased by the Board of Education" to bring the high-school libraries up to standards, the head schools' librarian stated: "The principal recognition on the part of school officials of this added chore gratuitously performed by the Public Library takes the form of sundry impatient inquiries as to why it is not done more quickly."⁵⁶

It is not easy to say what system of school library service is at the same time most satisfactory for the schools, for the public library, and for the people in the community served by them. Carleton B. Joeckel has recently shown how many divergent types of library "government" there are to choose from and that, though most American libraries are organized as *ad hoc* agencies like the public schools, it is possible to secure good service under almost all of them.⁵⁷ The essential thing is that all three parties—

⁵⁵ Information secured through an interview with the director of the Schools Department.

⁵⁶ *Report of the Chicago Public Library, 1935*, pp. 44-45.

⁵⁷ See his *The Government of the American Public Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935).

schools, libraries, and the public—be given proper consideration in reaching any decision as to the manner in which library service shall be supplied and that organizational structure should not be allowed to bar the road to the progressive reconstruction of local government.

What caliber of library service would obtain in the Chicago high schools and junior colleges today were the present co-operative arrangement inoperative, no one can say. To judge by the comparative excellence of high-school libraries that were and those that were not branches of the Chicago Public Library several years ago, there can be little doubt that the former were far more efficient.⁵⁸ Their superiority may have been due partly, however, to the fact that “librarians” then employed by the Board of Education were never given any encouragement to believe that it was interested in securing a fair test of the two types of service, but, at any rate, it was unmistakable.

Today, after two decades of experience, Chicago seems to be committed to a continuance of the contractual arrangements into which the two independent boards have entered. If they are not entirely satisfactory either to the schoolteachers or to the librarians working in the schools, what does it matter? Government is invariably a few degrees short of perfection under any circumstances. The significant facts are that here is a method of co-operation between separate governmental agencies that has grown naturally out of the needs of the community and that it works. In addition, it represents to many keen students of the problem of better public service at the lowest cost a way of handling public business that is destined to be util-

⁵⁸ Mary C. Emich, “A Comparative Study of Twenty Chicago Senior High School Libraries” (University of Chicago thesis [1933]), p. 60.

ized with increasing frequency if local government is to advance.⁵⁹

There was an interlude in the winter of 1933-34 when, owing to the financial crisis so acutely afflicting the Board of Education, the whole program of co-operative school library service hung in the balance. School authorities had been unable to meet their pay rolls for approximately two years, and it was natural that, when they ceased paying their own staff, they stopped sending monthly checks to the Chicago Public Library for remuneration on the library pay roll of the high-school librarians.

Hoping that the finances of the school system would be adjusted satisfactorily within a reasonably brief period, the board of directors of the library undertook at first to sustain the integrity of their pay roll by advancing from their own treasury the funds to defray the salaries of school librarians. It was understood from the beginning that they would not be able to continue this program for any great length of time, but, as the depression in school finances deepened, the library directors stood by and kept on advancing funds until by December 31, 1933, they were an unwilling creditor to the Board of Education in the amount of \$47,500.27, having received from the Board during the previous twelve months a total of but \$9,291.38.⁶⁰

Under these circumstances the library, early in 1934, issued to the Board of Education an ultimatum requiring it to find a way of paying a monthly sum for salaries of school librarians by March or suffer the withdrawal of the entire personnel on that date. For some anxious weeks it

⁵⁹ See Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting, *How Cities Can Cut Costs* (Chicago, 1933).

⁶⁰ *Sixty-second Annual Report of the Chicago Public Library* (for 1933), p. 16.

appeared that the library might be obliged to make good on its threat, but almost at the zero hour the Board of Education "found a way" to meet the terms of the directors. The result was that the school librarians began once more to get their pay checks in regular fashion fully five months before the schoolteachers secured their back pay via the famous R.F.C. loan.⁶¹ What might have spelled the doom of the co-operative plan for school library service was thereby averted. The librarians stayed in the schools, and the Board of Education arranged in the years following even to have the library extend its services so that at present thirty-seven high-school and two junior-college libraries are staffed by employees of the Chicago Public Library.

INFORMAL CO-OPERATION FOR PUBLIC RECREATION

Three separate authorities divide responsibility for the administration of recreational service in the city of Chicago, but one does not find among them formal, contractual systems of co-operation such as have grown up for school health and library service. Co-ordination of effort there is, more so than ever since the founding in August, 1934, of the Chicago Recreation Commission, yet it is the product not of official commitments between the agencies involved but rather of personal congeniality and the tradition of sportsmanship among their staffs.

A bird's-eye view of the comparative size of each of three recreational systems reveals, as is shown in Table 8, that facilities for recreation are by no means divided equally among them. Direct comparison is possible only in the case of playgrounds. The distribution gives 201, or a full

⁶¹ Interview with Miss A. F. Whitcomb, director of schools department of the library.

two-thirds, to the Chicago Park District, 61 to the Bureau of Recreation under the Board of Education, and 39 to the Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation under the commissioner of public works.

The last-named is the lineal descendant of the first organization ever established in Chicago to sponsor a play-

TABLE 8*

MAJOR PUBLIC RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN CHICAGO

Jurisdiction	Play-grounds	Parks	Beaches	Pools	Miscellany
Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation, Department of Public Works.	39	7	3	3	17 bathhouses 2 community centers
Bureau of Recreation of Board of Education.	61	.....	.....	.....	61 shelters
Chicago Park District.	201	115	10	45	82 fieldhouses 91 gymnasiums 2 theatrical stages
Total.	301	122	13	48	255

* Information secured from directories of the agencies.

ground and recreational program for its citizens—the Special Park Commission created in 1899 by resolution of the City Council. Its duties as originally outlined were to gather information and prepare recommendations with reference to park and playground needs,⁶² but before many years passed it had taken on an administrative character, actively operating small playgrounds and agitating for a larger program inasmuch as no other group was concern-

⁶² See *Report of the Special Park Commission to the City Council of Chicago on the Subject of a Metropolitan Park System* (Chicago, 1904), pp. 133–34.

ing itself with the problem. In its first report this commission related in graphic terms the lack of playground facilities in some of the most congested wards of the city and sternly insisted that the Board of Education build no more schoolhouses without arranging for playgrounds adjacent to them. It proposed that the Board buy the necessary land and supervise the use of the grounds.⁶³ Unable to persuade itself that the provision of such facilities was properly within its scope, the Board temporized with the suggestion. It did, however, starting in 1904, establish a policy of buying school sites large enough to allow space for play. These sites were in some cases leased to the commission, which equipped them for recreational use and furnished supervision.

By 1913 both the park authorities and the Board of Education were ready to take another important step. In its report for that year, the commission announced the opening of a new playground to be operated on these terms: installation of equipment and supervision of activities by the park authorities and permission by the school directors for the use of the gymnasium after school hours. It was understood further that expenses for regrading and fencing the grounds and for utilities like water and light should be paid by the Board of Education. Satisfaction appears to have attended the plan from the start; in the following year similar schemes were inaugurated at five additional schools.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, wherever distance did not prohibit, other schools used city-owned playground and parks during play periods. Proceeds of a \$300,000 bond issue voted by the electorate in 1915 enabled the

⁶³ *Report of the Special Park Commission* (Chicago, 1901), p. 8.

⁶⁴ W. H. Hughes, "Play Facilities of the Chicago Public Schools" (University of Chicago thesis [1914]), pp. 37, 43-45.

city to enlarge the program considerably. The money was used to equip forty-six playgrounds on school property. Two years later, with this expanded system well organized and operating smoothly, the Special Commission was abolished, and its functions transferred to a newly created bureau, which, after several mutations in nomenclature, is now known as the Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation.

By 1921 this bureau had seventy playgrounds under its jurisdiction, the larger number of which it was soon to lose however, owing to the launching of a separate Bureau of Recreation under the Board of Education. The purposes motivating this shift are not entirely clear. Apparently the superintendent of the Bureau of Parks entertained the thought that arrangements for the use of school gymnasiums might be made more easily if some of the playgrounds were placed directly under the Board's jurisdiction—an idea destined not to be realized. Others intimated that the change was the result of a political trade. In any event, the General Assembly amended the school law by setting up within the Chicago school system a new Bureau of Recreation and giving it a separate tax levy. To this bureau fifty-seven of the seventy playgrounds mentioned above were then transferred. In the years that have elapsed since, the Bureau of Parks has enlarged its facilities by adding twenty-six playgrounds to the thirteen which remained after the transfer. The Bureau of Recreation operates today only four more than it had when it was established.

The Chicago Park District, the city's leading recreational agency, was created in 1934 through the merging into one jurisdiction of what formerly were twenty-two independent park districts located wholly or partially within

its corporate limits. Three of these, the South Park, Lincoln Park, and West Park districts, were relatively large in area and strong in resources, but the big majority were territorially small and financially weak. Neither in their historical development nor in their programs, whether preceding consolidation or since, has there been any close or formal connection between these *ad hoc* park authorities and the Bureau of Recreation of the Chicago public schools. Each of the three present recreational bodies has its facilities distributed widely over the city. Each has something in its program at almost every location to appeal to people of all age and skill groups. Yet so great is the demand for recreational facilities in a metropolis like Chicago that despite what must seem, in numbers at least, to represent an enormous combined capacity, the playgrounds and parks of each agency are well patronized, and there is a minimum of competition between them for public patronage. The equipment of the Bureau of Recreation leads it to appeal more exclusively than the others to children under eighteen years of age, yet, even in the case of these playgrounds, approximately one-fourth of the patrons in recent years have been adults. Conversely, there are activities in the recreational programs of both the Park District and the Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation sufficiently attractive to younger children that, wherever a child lives closer to one of their locations than to a school playground, he normally plays on the ground adjacent to his home.

There are three regular types of informal co-operation among these agencies.⁶⁵ For track, skating, and wrestling

⁶⁵ Information secured through interviews with the director of the Bureau of Recreation and staff member of the Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation, through reports by the authorities, and through literature of the Amateur Athletic Union.

meets, the Bureau of Recreation is allowed free use of needed facilities owned by the Chicago Park District. When the Park District stages large-scale tournaments taxing the capacity of its own staff, it secures from the personnel of the Bureau of Recreation additional officials to direct and judge the competitions. Third, when an organization like the Amateur Athletic Union sponsors a city-wide program in Chicago, the staffs of all three organizations co-operate in its administration by accepting responsibility for the management of competition in the various sports. To facilitate these brief interchanges of personnel and arrangements for the use of equipment belonging to other agencies, directors of recreation set up some years ago a Chicago Playground Council. With the establishment of the Chicago Recreation Commission⁶⁶ and its various co-ordinating committees, this council has, however, been somewhat inactive. Of formal contractual agreements between the Board of Education and either of the other authorities, the only evidence discovered is that of the leasing to the Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation by the school board of six plots of ground on which the Bureau of Parks operates playgrounds.⁶⁷

In these ways the staffs of the three great public agencies had gotten into the habit of co-operating professionally in the administration of the recreational function even before Mayor Edward J. Kelly, former president of the South Park Commissioners, set up the Chicago Recreation Commission.⁶⁸ With its creation, there is reason to expect that

⁶⁶ A similar commission had been set up by Mayor Dever's administration, 1923-27.

⁶⁷ *Report of the Department of Public Works, 1934*, pp. 275-76.

⁶⁸ The commission describes itself as "an official municipal advisory body, a clearing house of recreational information, and a general service on recreation."

whatever advantages may be achieved through co-ordination that leaves the agencies legally independent of one another will be probed to the limit. Undoubtedly, there is much that may still be done within the present framework to improve the handling of recreation in the city. It is not improbable, however, that the commission's subcommittee on governmental co-ordination⁶⁹ may be led some day to recommend that the consolidation which fused twenty-two park districts into one be continued until the Chicago Park District, the Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation, and the Bureau of Recreation have been merged into one great department of recreation.

Meanwhile the autonomous position of the Bureau of Recreation within the public-school system will probably operate as the principal obstacle to additional integration. This "baby" of the Board of Education has always carried on a program more like that of a regular recreational unit than of the Department of Physical Education.⁷⁰ In fact, one finds almost no evidence of co-ordination between them.⁷¹ With but a half-hour time overlap in the daily schedules of the two units (Bureau of Recreation employees go on duty at two-thirty, Department of Physical Education employees generally go off duty with the close of school at three) perhaps one would not necessarily expect a great measure of co-operation. But it does seem strange that, with the Board of Education making little use of its gymnasiums after school hours, the Bureau of Recreation—one of its own divisions—should be allowed to use them

⁶⁹ See Chicago Recreational Commission, *First Annual Report*, December, 1935, p. 12.

⁷⁰ Undoubtedly this is to be explained in part by the fact that many persons who prior to 1921 were employed by the city arranged to transfer to the Bureau of Recreation.

⁷¹ Strayer Report, III, 186.

only upon payment of a rental fee.⁷² Much of the potential recreational value represented by these gymnasiums is thereby lost to the city.

CONTROL OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The problems of preventing and controlling juvenile delinquency ramify so widely into every sphere of life that they can never be solved without developing in every field an appreciation of what causes children to deviate in their conduct from accepted standards. Responsibility for care of actual or potential delinquents is not an obligation that can be most effectively discharged by the simple expedient of setting up a department charged with that function. The greatest possibilities for success would seem rather to lie in the direction of securing the fullest co-operation among all agencies whose activities impinge on child welfare.

That the public schools as the principal medium for dealing with children should figure importantly in any such co-ordinated scheme for coping with delinquency is self-evident.⁷³ Yet up until approximately a decade ago the school system of Chicago played almost no part of con-

⁷² One bureau employee opined a couple of years ago that "we would have to pay the Board of Education \$18 to use a gymnasium." There is no discrimination here against the Bureau of Recreation. No unit under the Board can use a building after school hours without paying for it.

⁷³ Frederic M. Thrasher, speaking on "Crime and Juvenile Delinquency," at the 1935 conference of the Department of Superintendence of the N.E.A., declared that the school system should be responsible for "developing school procedures which make good children," "taking the lead in organizing community crime prevention programs" where none exist, "furnishing basic data . . . on children in crime-breeding areas," "detecting potential delinquents in all primary schools," "bridging the gap between school and home," "developing special school techniques for handling potential delinquents," inaugurating noncurricular activities "to carry over into leisure time," and offering the use of the school plant "outside of school hours and during vacations."

sequence in meeting this problem in the metropolis. Prior to the superintendency of the late William J. Bogan, several divisions within the school system dealt with delinquency but not in any very constructive or systematic way. They included the Bureau of Compulsory Education, dating from 1883; the Bureau of Child Study, established in 1899; the Chicago Parental School, a residential school for the incarceration of incorrigibles, established in 1902; special truant rooms within the regular schools originating in 1911; classes maintained in the Chicago-Cook County School for Boys, which replaced in 1913 a branch of the city house of correction serving as a jail for first offenders committed by the Juvenile Court; classes held in the Juvenile Detention Home School opened in 1923 to serve as a place of confinement for juveniles pending investigation; and the Visiting Teacher Service, created in 1927. These public-school agencies had practically no contact with police and judicial personnel working in the same field and only in the case of classes in the Chicago-Cook County School and the Juvenile Detention Home were there records of formal contracts between the civil authorities and the Board of Education. In the case of the former school, discontinued in 1931, the Cook County Commissioners had an agreement with the Board that, if the Chicago school system would furnish teachers and pay for building repairs, they would meet other operating expenses.⁷⁴ Accordingly, in the year before the school was closed, the Board of Education expended \$71,000 to honor its part of the contract, and the county \$65,000.

The best of the techniques employed today to secure co-operation between the schools and noneducational public

⁷⁴ See Helen Jeter, *Chicago Juvenile Court* (Children's Bureau Publication No. 104 [Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor, 1922]).

agencies charged with responsibility in this field have grown out of the special interest in the juvenile delinquent represented by Chicago's two pioneering ventures, the Montefiore and Moseley schools. On September 16, 1929, eight teachers and ninety pupils from ten truant rooms on the north and west sides of Chicago were transferred to a building at 461 North Sangamon Street, as the nucleus of the Montefiore School. Thus, on the initiative of the Committee on Juvenile Delinquency of Superintendent Bogan's Advisory Council, was launched a new and admirably progressive experiment in public educational circles—a school charged with the responsibility of taking unadjusted boys already started upon the road that leads to delinquency and rehabilitating them for normal living as students in the regular schools.⁷⁵

From the start this school has maintained a laboratory atmosphere: it has had on its staff a doctor, a nurse, dentist, psychologist, psychiatrist, personnel expert, speech teacher, teacher of remedial reading, carefully selected classroom teachers, and truant officers. As its head there has been an able man deeply interested in the possibilities of the project, and he has had wide latitude in putting his ideas into practice.⁷⁶ Boys transferred to this school are handled by the school authorities exclusively. There is no contact of any kind with any court until after the authorities at Montefiore confess their inability to secure the co-operation necessary on the part of the boy to make his

⁷⁵ This description will be limited to the Montefiore School. Moseley School, having the same purpose, is a South Side institution accommodating mainly Negro children. It was established in 1930 and enrolls about three hundred children.

⁷⁶ His name is Edward H. Stullken. See his "Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore School, 1933-34" (mimeographed), from which most of the present description is taken.

attendance at the school worth while. Boys are in school six and one-half hours a day, five days a week, for twelve months in the year. Broadly speaking, the program consists of two parts: the boys spend three-eighths of their time in academic work and the other five-eighths in activities varying with their aptitudes.

This school and its companion, the Moseley, furnish an encouraging example of co-operation, on the one hand, among units within the Chicago system and, on the other, between a school agency and nonschool organizations, public and private, interested in the prevention and control of child delinquency.⁷⁷ Among the services extended to the Montefiore staff by other bureaus or offices in the Chicago school system are the following: the Bureau of Compulsory Education furnishes two full-time truant officers; the Division of Special Education provides a special teacher to remedy defects in speech; from its other divisions the Board of Education furnishes a psychologist, a psychiatrist, two recreational directors, bathroom attendants, and, while it could still afford them, visiting teachers. Services given by noneducational agencies vary: the Chicago Public Library furnishes approximately one thousand books in addition to those owned by the school; the Department of Health furnishes a full-time dentist, a doctor, and a nurse; the Juvenile Court of Cook County gives the school a free hand as long as the school staff believes there is a chance for redemption.

The picture of co-operation of school and nonschool public agencies for the better control of child delinquency would not be complete without mentioning the diagnostic

⁷⁷ It is important for the welfare of Chicago that the threat to these two schools disclosed in the summer of 1936 be warded off (see *Chicago Daily News*, June 19 and 23, 1936; cf. *Chicago Tribune*, June 24, 1936).

service given to the Chicago schools by the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research. This organization, specializing in the analysis of unadjusted personalities, examines yearly a hundred or more cases sent by school authorities for diagnosis. When the testing has been completed and the experts attached to the Institute have agreed upon a prescription, the schools attempt to give the child the treatment suggested.

With such co-operation the school has paid dividends from the start. Speaking at a meeting of the superintendent of school's Advisory Council in December, 1930, only one year after the founding of Montefiore School, Judge Mary F. Bartelme, of the Juvenile Court, testified that, of the fifty-eight most difficult cases brought into the Juvenile Court and transferred to Montefiore School, "thirty-two were completely reclaimed." She commended Chicago's special schools warmly for giving children freedom to adjust themselves in an environment in which their needs are considered.⁷⁸

DEFENDING INTEGRITY OF TAX LEVIES

In addition to the instances already cited, evidence of administrative co-ordination between the staffs of the legally independent school system and other governmental units in Chicago may be found in the prosaic business of tax collection. A report submitted to the Board of Education by the business manager of the public schools in 1933 offers a good illustration. Having been asked to make provision for further reduction of personnel in the Division of Audit of the Bureau of Finance, the manager averred to the Board that further curtailment of his staff was impossible because of the number of employees he had been

⁷⁸ *Chicago High School Teachers Club News*, January, 1931.

obliged to loan to the county judge, the county treasurer, and the county assessor to assist in work indispensable to the more expeditious collection of taxes. The demurrer was sustained by the president of the Board,⁷⁹ and the arrangement continues to the present day. For the year 1938 the Board made appropriations for a secretary, seven clerks, and a bookkeeper working in the city treasurer's office.⁸⁰ The Board's law department has given similar co-operation, frequently assisting in the defense of tax levies at hearings before the county judge of Cook County. In April of 1936 it retained a special attorney to assist its own staff in maintaining the propriety of the 1934 levy in the face of objections raised by a group of big taxpayers. It has even considered setting up a permanent bureau for the purpose of investigating the assessments of both real and personal property of objectors.⁸¹

ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL SERVICE

Notwithstanding that the Chicago School District was declared in the Otis Act of 1917 to be a "body politic and corporate," the Board of Education does not administer the civil service provisions covering its noninstructional personnel.⁸² Examinations for positions in the noneducational service of the board are handled today precisely as they were in the years prior to the passage of that law when, from several points of view, the public schools were understood to be a department of the government of the municipal corporation proper. The Chicago Civil Service Commission maintains a single series of registers from

⁷⁹ Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1933, item No. 33011.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, January 12, 1938, p. 633; *ibid.*, January 8, 1936, p. 483.

⁸¹ *Chicago Daily News*, April 30, 1936, p. 11.

⁸² See *Ill. Rev. Stat.*, 1937, chap. 122, sec. 152.

which appointments are made both by the city and by the Board of Education. The task of qualifying persons for a whole series of business and clerical positions is thereby handled with economy and dispatch, for in all save a few instances, such as that of truant officers, persons with the same types of skill are needed by both agencies. What this means to the Board in terms of numbers of persons examined and certified cannot be stated precisely owing to the fact that figures on the size of the district's noneducational pay roll are not available. Some idea of its significance is afforded, however, by the fact that, out of a total of \$42,982,369 appropriated for salaries in the Board's budget for 1938, \$7,682,640 was allocated to salaries for persons on the civil service pay roll.

This phase of intergovernmental co-operation has been continuous ever since 1895, the year of the enactment of the law establishing the merit system in Chicago. That it has been maintained in the same way since 1917 as it was before that date justifies in some measure the expectation that the two units of government will ultimately contrive additional and better ways of integrating their machinery and their work.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Payment to the Chicago Board of Education of tuition for nonresident pupils represents the most tangible form of co-operation between school jurisdictions in the metropolitan area. During the year 1934-35, no less than 211 elementary pupils and 1,023 high-school pupils from outside the city attended school in Chicago. They were distributed as shown in Table 9.

Besides this striking illustration of the advantage of co-operating where the law logically implies a mutual ex-

clusion and self-sufficiency, there is an instance of constructive disregard of the artificial boundary lines between districts significant enough to warrant description here. This was the obliteration of jurisdictional border lines achieved while it was active by the Education Club of Superintendent Bogan's Advisory Council for the purpose

TABLE 9*

SOURCE OF TUITION PAYMENT FOR NONRESIDENT
PUPILS IN CHICAGO SCHOOLS, 1934-35

Source of Payment	No. of Pupils
High school:	
Pupil himself.....	2
Will County, Illinois.....	2
Local high-school district.....	7
Non-high-school district of Cook County....	1,012
Total.....	1,023
Elementary school:	
Pupil.....	3
Local school district (special divisions).....	25
School District No. 125.....	36
State of Illinois (<i>re</i> nonresident orphans).....	147
Total.....	211
Grand total.....	1,234

* From *Annual Report of Chicago Public Schools to Cook County Superintendent of Schools, 1935*.

of securing free interchange of experience and counsel among all school administrators in the metropolitan area.⁸³ The two-hundred-odd members of this club, some sixty of them hailing from Chicago suburbs in Illinois and Indiana, included the presidents of colleges and universities in the Region, faculty members of the schools of education, rep-

⁸³ *School Facts*, ed. James E. McDade (Chicago Public Schools), February 11, 1931, p. 3.

representatives of educational committees from various civic organizations in Chicago, members of the staff of the educational department of the Chicago public schools, and superintendents and principals from a great number of the leading suburban schools. Meetings were held six or eight times a year devoted to "problems of teacher training and the co-ordination of educational opportunities in the metropolitan area."⁸⁴

SIGNIFICANCE OF CO-OPERATIVE PRACTICES

When the Strayer staff made its well-known report on Chicago's school system seven years ago, it based its recommendations concerning educational organization on the principle that "it is always a mistake for the schools to be organized so that agencies other than a board of education are responsible for the administration of vital and indispensable services in the schools."⁸⁵ Their reasoning was that an outside agency inevitably regards that part of its work carried on within the school system as marginal to its main program and therefore in danger of being first to suffer either when difficulties develop in administration or when financial stringency forces curtailment of program.⁸⁶

It cannot be gainsaid that some of the services described in the preceding sections have suffered marked curtailment during periods of economic depression. Reductions in appropriations for school dental care, for example, were proportionately larger than those for the Department of Health as a whole.⁸⁷ Yet by no means does it follow that this was due

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* The club has been dormant since the death of Superintendent Bogan.

⁸⁵ Strayer, Report, III, 145.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ In 1933 appropriations for the Bureau of Dental Hygiene, limited almost entirely to school service, were only 37.1 per cent of what they were in 1929; appropriations for the whole Department of Health had dropped, however, only to 68.4 per cent.

to the fact that dental work in the schools was a "border-line" activity of the department. The same curtailment might have been made had all health service in the schools been under the direction of the Board of Education.

The situation is not different in the case of administrative friction, several illustrations of which were given in connection with library service. Organization of its own libraries by the Board of Education would not automatically guarantee administrative harmony between princi-

CHART II

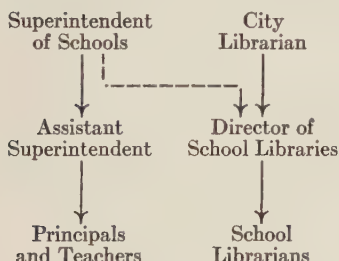
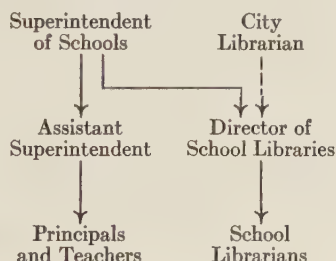
LIBRARY SERVICE UNDER
PUBLIC LIBRARY

CHART III

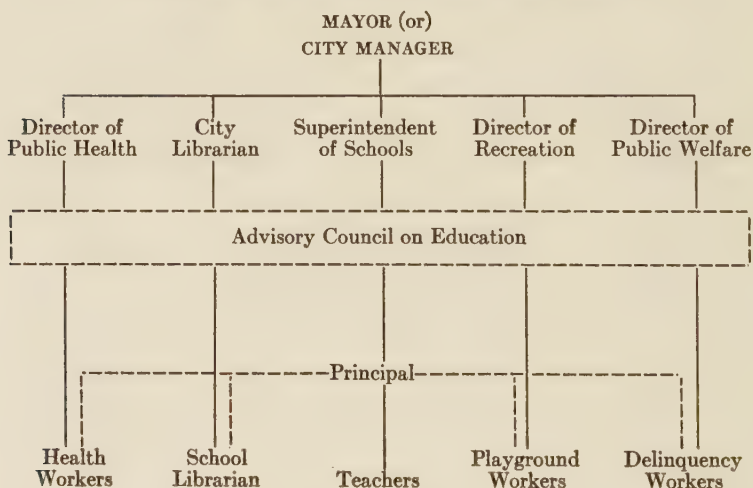
LIBRARY SERVICE UNDER
BOARD OF EDUCATION

pals, teachers, and librarians any more than establishment under the Board of a Bureau of Recreation has meant complete co-ordination between principals, teachers of physical education, and playground directors. One is not required to take it for granted that there must be friction between school and municipal employees. The one indispensable requirement for smooth performance of any function like library or health service within the individual school is that the executive officer of the Board of Education make it plain to everyone that the service has his complete backing. With this made plain, school library service should be equally satisfactory whether organized

under the Chicago Public Library or separately within the school system; but collateral benefits could accrue to the general public under the former plan, owing to the many economies latent in co-operation. The same possibility holds for other functions as well.

CHART IV

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION, UNDER FUNCTIONAL SUPERVISION,
OF FOUR SERVICES SUPPLIED BY NONSCHOOL AGENCIES



On the administrative side Chicago's present system and the type advocated by the Strayer staff may be compared schematically in Charts II and III. Library service is selected for illustrative purposes.

Without anticipating the discussion of improved overhead control of all the services of local public authorities contained in a later chapter, it may, nevertheless, be suggested in concluding this one that the next step forward will simply be a recognition that the way in which school

library and health services are now being supplied is, broadly speaking, the way they should be supplied. In some ways Chicago is fortunate in *not* having developed these services within and under her Board of Education: integration of the school system with the rest of government may come—as is certain sooner or later—all the more easily and painlessly because of the co-operative relationships that have been established. There need be no “break” with the past; there need be merely a consolidation and consummation of tendencies fortuitously, if not deliberately, initiated years ago.

It is not too much to assume that ultimately the administrative organization of the services which have been analyzed will approach that shown in Chart IV. When the changes therein indicated have been made, Chicago will have a governmental structure possessing elements of flexibility, workability, and control far beyond what obtains today. Time is certain to show either the necessity or the desirability of rendering additional services through or in the schools. When this occurs, it will be a great boon to have worked out techniques and procedures for their efficient and harmonious administration of the kind foreshadowed here.

CHAPTER III

THE AREAL BASE FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

THE PRESENT MAZE OF JURISDICTIONS

The responsibility for the immediate administration of education among the five million people who share a more or less common social and economic life in the Chicago Region is scattered among a congeries of no less than 1,246 confusing jurisdictions, comprising sixteen more or less divergent classes. Responsibility for the financing and supervision of education is further diffused among 191 other public authorities on four separate governmental levels. There are, therefore, a total of 1,437 jurisdictions involved in the government of public education in metropolitan Chicago (see Table 10).

These administrative units vary fantastically not only in size, population, and enrolment but also in relative wealth, legal status, and school program. They represent anything but a rational plan for the handling of so vital a function as education within so homogeneous a territory. At one extreme there is the independent school district of Chicago, 211 square miles in extent, enrolling 505,000 pupils, enjoying a special legal status, and supporting not only kindergartens and elementary and secondary schools but a normal school and three junior colleges as well. Forsooth, it is in a class by itself. At the other end of the scale there are, for example, the North Aurora consolidated elementary-school district in Kane County with a physio-

TABLE 10*

ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION
IN THE CHICAGO REGION, 1935

County or State	Districts for Immediate Administration*	Supervisory Jurisdictions†	Total	No. of Districts Having 1-Room Country School*	No. of Districts Maintaining No School	No. of Consolidated Districts
Illinois:						
Cook.....	194	32	226	69	4	2
Du Page.....	82	11	93	41	8	4
Grundy.....	96	19	115	81	0	1
Kane.....	120	18	138	86	3	6
Kankakee.....	149	19	168	131	.....	.....
Kendall.....	60	11	71	54	3	4
Lake.....	106	19	125	65	3	6
McHenry.....	133	19	152	109	7	2
Will.....	181	26	207	153	7	2
Total.....	1,121	174	1,295	789	35	27‡
Indiana:						
Lake.....	21	1	22	5	.....	1
La Porte.....	22	1	23	19	1	.....
Porter.....	13	1	14	12	.....	1
Total.....	56	3	59	36	1	2
Wisconsin:						
Kenosha.....	69	10	79	44	4§	18||
Total for Region.....	1,246	187	1,433+4¶	869	31	47

* Data are from the 1935 *Statistical Report*, Tables 11, 32, and 42, in the case of Illinois, and from the 1934-35 *School Directory* for Indiana and Wisconsin. By 1938 the number of districts in Cook County had dropped to 191.

† Figures for the Illinois counties represent the sum of the number of "active" civil townships plus two, one for the non-high-school districts in each county and one for the county itself. Wisconsin has the townships and the county but no non-high-school district. As for Indiana, recognition is simply given to the county itself.

‡ These 27 consolidated districts represent 83 districts consolidated. Only 2 consolidated schools were organized in all Illinois in 1934, neither of them in any regional county.

§ This is estimated from the *Wisconsin Directory*, 1934-35.

|| There were 4 first-class graded schools (having three or more teachers) and 14 second-class graded schools (having but two teachers).

¶ Four jurisdictions are added here to recognize the three regional states themselves as constituting administrative areas for educational purposes and the nation as well.

graphic area of but three square miles,¹ and thirty-six districts with five pupils or less—mere puppets of the legislature and maintaining school only in the elementary grades.² One district alone contains approximately 65 per cent of the entire regional enrolment; the other 35 per cent is dispersed among 1,245 districts.

Of those students living outside Chicago, the bulk are to be found in schools located in the fourteen cities having populations exceeding 25,000. It eventuates that the schools of fifteen cities include approximately 85 per cent of the total number of children attending public school in the area.³ The remaining 15 per cent attend school in one or another of twelve hundred districts located elsewhere in the Region. The overwhelming majority of these are elementary districts. Excluding the overlapping high-school and non-high-school jurisdictions of Illinois and Wisconsin, these units have an average area slightly larger than four square miles.⁴

In the nature of things these districts maintain small, ungraded schools. There are within the immediate hinterland of America's second largest city no less than 869 school areas maintaining one-room country schools (see Table 10). Regional Illinois has 789, Indiana 36, and Wisconsin 44.

¹ Regional school statistics almost ignore the subject of district areas, making it necessary to get this type of data indirectly. The fact that the consolidated district referred to represents a merging of two former districts suggests that there may well be districts even more diminutive.

² *Chicago Daily News*, September 3, 1935.

³ Because of the dual system of school administration in Illinois and Wisconsin, it has been necessary here to proceed by estimates rather than by exact figures. The fifteen regional cities having populations of 25,000 or more comprise 4,098,993 people.

⁴ Appendix B of the *Illinois Statistical Report* for 1929-30 describes Cook County's 191 school districts outside Chicago as having an average size of 4.86 square miles.

As already intimated, confusion results, however, not only from the sheer multiplicity of jurisdictions but also from their diversity in school program and legal status, especially in the two states with the dual plan—Wisconsin and Illinois. Indiana, using the unitary arrangement, has no separate jurisdictions for the operation of high schools, all her administrative bodies for education maintaining either an elementary and a secondary school or an elementary school alone. There are some independent districts in the other states which maintain a full school program from the first to the twelfth grade, inclusive, but, generally speaking, a complete system of high school, or non-high-school, districts overlies the elementary areas.

These should constitute complications enough. But when it is discovered, in addition, that there are in Illinois four types of elementary-school districts and three types of secondary districts, that all county territory not included in an established high-school district is regarded as constituting a non-high-school district for the purpose of providing tuition and transportation for sending children of high-school age to adjacent high schools, that elementary-school districts are occasionally empowered to jump the fence and offer one or more years of high-school work, that a few high-school districts jump a still higher fence and extend themselves to include junior colleges, and that part or all of a non-high-school district may decide that it is cheaper to maintain their own high-school than to buy service from their neighboring jurisdictions—one can only say that the regional pattern of school areas represents confusion confounded.

Illinois maintains in the Region today these eight types of districts: *primarily for elementary education*: (1) districts under 1,000 population, viz., the “common” or

“fundamental” school district; (2) consolidated districts, i.e., mergers of rural schools of the preceding type; (3) community consolidated districts, i.e., unions of rural and village elementary schools; (4) districts with populations from 1,000 to 100,000; *primarily for secondary training*; (5) township high-school districts; (6) community high-school districts; (7) non-high-school districts; *units designed to offer instruction through Grades I–XII*; (8) districts with population over 500,000, namely, Chicago.⁵

Indiana’s segment of the Region supports but three basic types of units: (1) school townships, (2) school towns, and (3) school cities. With the subdivision of this third group into three categories, however (cities of 3,000–58,000, cities of 58,000–70,000, and cities of 70,000–102,000), metropolitan Indiana could be set down as employing for educational administration five different areas.⁶

Regional Wisconsin, like the rest of that state, groups her public day schools into two divisions—city and county. City schools are found in all incorporated cities that have elected to detach from the county unit and organize independently under a superintendent. They are supervised by the state department of public instruction only and make all reports directly to that office. All others are county schools. Those in Kenosha County may be grouped into three classes: (1) one-room school districts in the open

⁵ It may be observed in this connection that four districts in regional Illinois are operating under special charters granted before the revision of the constitution in 1870, namely, Lake Forest, Waukegan, Joliet, and one district in Kankakee County.

⁶ For administrative units in both Illinois and Indiana see Portia V. Parratt, “The Public Schools of Metropolitan Chicago” (University of Chicago thesis [1932]), pp. 17–31. See also *Report of the Indiana State Committee on Governmental Economy* (Indianapolis, 1935), p. 452.

country, (2) state graded or consolidated schools, and (3) high-school districts. To these regular day schools, however, must be added a special district for vocational education having the same boundaries as the city of Kenosha but possessing its own specially elected local board.⁷ It seems proper, consequently, to count five types of school administrative areas in this section of the metropolitan area.⁸

Thus within the limits of the Region there obtain sixteen types of administrative areas—if all those in each state be counted separately. Some of these, however, may be assimilated to permit a reduction in the number of different units. It is possible to simplify the whole pattern to include but nine main categories (see Table 11).

From the foregoing it is evident that everywhere throughout the suburban area the dead hand of the past hangs heavily over the system of administrative areas for public education. There were 1,145 separate school districts in the nine Illinois counties a quarter-century ago;⁹ there are 1,118 today—a decrease of twenty-seven in eighteen years since the passage of the act permitting consolidation. If this persisting pattern of lilliputian units does not furnish the perfect illustration of what is meant by the term “the governmental lag,” nothing can. At the rate maintained over the last generation, it would require just about three-quarters of a millennium to bring the

⁷ *Report of Wisconsin Interim Legislative Committee on Education* (Madison, 1931), chap. v.

⁸ *Biennial Report of Wisconsin Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1932-34*, pp. 53-54.

⁹ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1910*. In 1918 the General Assembly enacted legislation permitting the consolidation of districts.

schools of the region into one inclusive jurisdiction.¹⁰ More specifically, this consummation would be reached in the year 2681.

TABLE 11

PRINCIPAL TYPES OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS
IN THE CHICAGO REGION, WITH NUMBERS
IN EACH CLASS

Primarily for elementary education:

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 1. Elementary-school districts of Illinois and Wisconsin* | 1,030 |
| 2. Consolidated school districts of Illinois and Wisconsin | 47 |

Primarily for secondary education:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 3. High-school districts of Illinois and Wisconsin† | 101 |
| 4. Non-high-school districts of Illinois | 9 |

Areas for elementary and secondary education:

- | | |
|--|----|
| 5. Districts over 500,000 population in Illinois | 1 |
| 6. School townships of Indiana | 43 |
| 7. School towns and cities of Indiana | 13 |
| 8. Independent school districts of Wisconsin | 1 |

Areas for special education:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 9. Kenosha (city) vocational school district | 1 |
|--|---|

Total	1,246
-----------------	-------

* There are a few miscellaneous districts included in this category.

† All but one of these districts are in regional Illinois.

THE HISTORICAL RATIONALE

Many writers, preceding this one, have plodded drearily over the field of school administration in some section of the metropolitan area only to emerge each with a new

¹⁰ The author is not implying here that this would be the perfect solution to the problem of administrative areas for public education in the Chicago Region. For his own recommendations see the last section of this chapter.

metaphor to castigate the "system" and to goad the powers that be into bringing it up to date. There is not the slightest intention to retrace that well-traveled road *in extenso* here. But an ability to approach constructively the problem of planning newer and more serviceable areas for school administration does depend in part upon an understanding of how the problem originated.

One explanation of the indescribably complex mosaic of school jurisdictions in northeastern Illinois is to be found in the propensity of the General Assembly for enacting special legislation. That body might have exercised its prerogatives under the principle that "education is a function of the state" in such a manner as to have produced a simple, efficient, and easily comprehensible set of administrative areas. Instead it has compromised disastrously with the doctrine of local control and created a maze of hopelessly dissimilar districts from which it is proving very difficult for the people of the Region to extricate themselves. It is not that the forms of general legislation have been ignored; it is rather that such narrow and arbitrary classifications have been introduced as to constitute in effect special legislation.

A check of the Index to *The School Law of Illinois* reveals, for example, these utterly disconcerting classifications: "Districts less than 500,000"; "Cities more than 1,000 and not over 20,000"; "Cities more than 25,000 and less than 500,000"; "Cities more than 200,000"; "Districts over 35,000"; "Districts having a population of less than 150,000"; "Districts of more than 7,000 and less than 300,000"; "Districts of more than 8,500 and less than 300,000"; "School districts of over 35,000 existing by virtue of special charter"; "Districts of 10,000 to 500,000"; "Cities exceeding 250,000"; "Cities over 65,000"; and

"Cities over 100,000."¹¹ Not inappropriately, they count up to thirteen. Admittedly, a good many of these classifications have been employed with respect only to certain features of school administration. (They could not be utilized for general purposes because, as can be observed only too plainly, they are not mutually exclusive.) The broader categories noted above stand, but they are not infrequently rendered nugatory by acts lifting districts out of their general classification for special purposes.

Illinois' system of governing her schools through small and independent districts derives from an act of the General Assembly in the year 1842, a "mistake" which succeeding legislatures have ever since been endeavoring to correct.¹² The statute in question *required* township trustees to divide the township into local districts suitable for the maintenance of common schools *which could not thereafter be disbanded or changed without the consent of the people living in the district*. Wisconsin, though given statehood seventeen years after the passage of this ill-considered measure, neglected to profit from the experience of her sister-commonwealth, continuing instead the district system she inherited from her mother-state, Michigan.

In contrast, a more fortunate tradition has obtained in Indiana. No less than in those places adopting the district system, her early schools were of the small, ungraded, one-room variety. But there was from the start this cardinal distinction. Employing the township as the smallest legal unit, she has been able, whenever conditions have called for the discontinuance of a one-room school,

¹¹ See *School Law of Illinois* (Circular 284 [Springfield: Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1935]).

¹² Cf. F. G. Blair, "A Larger School Unit," *Illinois Statistical Report, 1931-32*, pp. 34-35.

to effect proposed changes through township trustees "without any action on the part of the people living in the neighborhood of the school building."¹³ Even with this advantage, the Indiana segment of the Region has not been able to abolish all her "little red schoolhouses." Relatively, however, she makes a much better showing than her neighbors: her three counties have but thirty-six one-room schools today, whereas the single county of the Region in Wisconsin supports forty-four and the nine in Illinois average eighty-four apiece. Though at various times in her history she has provided for more or less direct control of her rural schools by those people living in the vicinity, Indiana has steadily maintained the principle that the trustees or trustee of the school township was, in the last analysis, responsible for the establishment, operation, consolidation, and discontinuance of schools within the township. There have been no substantial changes in the law since 1852.¹⁴

FACTORS INVOLVED IN AREAL READJUSTMENT

Any constructive rearrangement of the regional system of administrative areas for education must, it would seem, be based on an accommodation of the facts recognized in this proposition: There are areas for the most efficient administration of a given function, there are areas for the most equitable raising of governmental revenue, and there are areas of interest, of sentiment, or of cultural cohesion; probably in no case do they coincide.¹⁵

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁴ See Chester Earl Gunn, "A History of Public School Administration in Indiana" (University of Chicago thesis [1926]), chap. ii, pp. 17-18.

¹⁵ See Clarence Heer, "Areas of Administration *vs.* Areas of Financial Support," *Bulletin of the Society for Social Research, University of Chicago*, June, 1936, pp. 1, 5, 6.

Let it be accepted for the present that the Chicago Region must renounce the principle of requiring the area for direct school administration to serve also and exclusively as the area for financial support.¹⁶ What elements are involved in the delineation of a more efficient pattern of districts for the immediate management of the schools? What are the possibilities of effecting an identity between areas of administration and areas of community consciousness?

Distance and the scope of the school program appear to be the principal factors involved in defining the best areas for educational administration. For the first fifteen years of the period taken as marking the limits of this study, the former was undoubtedly a very stubborn impediment to the enlargement of the territory which might be served by one school. In all parts of the Region, however, the ubiquitous motorcar and, especially in Illinois, the building of a fine system of hard roads, have combined quite effectively to annihilate it. There are places, of course, where much remains to be done, yet as a factor affecting the ideal area of school administration, distance has almost been removed.

There remains, then, as the basic element in the situation, the question of the extent of the school program. When the "common-school education" which the Region was trying to guarantee to its children included only the elementary grades, an efficient area had to contain only enough children to require full-sized classes in each of the grades of one grammar school. That day has passed. When the definition of what constituted the "common-school education" was broadened to include secondary training, the minimal area for good administration naturally in-

¹⁶ For an elaboration of this position see chap. v, "Reconstruction of School Finance."

creased until it took in a population sufficient to support with student patronage a high school large enough to offer courses in all the basic subjects plus some electives. This definition has generally been accepted and is steadily being given more complete fulfilment. Today the definition is being broadened once again in progressive communities and is in need of being broadened everywhere. The people of metropolitan Chicago, as they plan a new set of school districts, will be wanting to take as one of their basic assumptions the view that junior-college training will ultimately need to be included in the conception of what constitutes for the generation now approaching adulthood a "good common-school education."

The conclusion is inescapable that, wherever the unitary system is feasible, an area of efficient school administration cannot have a population less than sufficient to provide through its elementary schools pupils numerous enough to patronize a good high school and to provide through its high schools pupils numerous enough to patronize a good junior college. What, then, would be the size of this minimal area? According to Leonard V. Koos, who is one of the nation's leading authorities on the junior college, it would have a population of not less than 25,000.¹⁷ In its earlier years a junior college in such a minimal district might expect an enrolment from one hundred to one hundred and fifty.¹⁸ Ultimately, as it broadened its curriculum to offer advanced training for some of the more common vocations,

¹⁷ Leonard V. Koos, *The Junior College Movement* (New York: Ginn & Co., 1925), pp. 383 and 583.

¹⁸ T. C. Holy, writing in *Bulletin* 25, p. 317 (1929), of the Department of Secondary School Principals claimed that even a city of 17,000 population could support a fairly efficient junior college. Whereas Koos believes about 200 students to be a minimum for efficiency, Holy thought 150 would be satisfactory.

it might enrol as many as two hundred or two hundred and fifty.

When the adoption of the unitary system may not be feasible—as certainly is the case from the short-run point of view in regional Illinois, where, even outside Chicago, a good many huge high schools have been built to serve a dozen or more underlying elementary districts in almost as many different communities—the foregoing principle should in any event be applied to the secondary districts. They should in every case be made large enough to support a well-patronized “extension” of the high school such that their students, as part of their common-school education, might secure two years of college training.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO RECONSTITUTE SCHOOL AREAS

At the risk of insulting the reader's intelligence, one must, at least for the sake of completion, put the question: Is there a case for local districts apart from the fact that they are here? The answer is that there is none, and there has been none ever since the tin lizzie chased Dobbin off the road. Minute school districts are simply a part of the political heritage of the nineteenth century—and, like so many other aspects of that heritage, they do more to cramp the life of the twentieth century than to free it and release its great potentialities.¹⁹

It was thought some years ago that permission to consolidate would offer a complete remedy for the evils of

¹⁹ In order to insure clear thinking at this point, notice should be taken of the fact that there is danger of identifying a laudable demand for a reasonable measure of local autonomy with the preservation of hopelessly small school districts. The reader may decide for himself whether such a movement as the organization of local boards of education into state associations represents an effort to preserve the *status quo* in so far as areal units are concerned (see Logan A. Waits, “Local Autonomy in Education,” *School and Society*, March 7, 1936, p. 324).

absurd fragmentation. Almost two full decades of experience with this device have proven that such hopes were utterly unfounded. It has already been recorded that regional Illinois has achieved a reduction of but twenty-seven in the total number of districts in eighteen years. Consolidated districts have been established in all the nine metropolitan counties save one—Kankakee. Yet only in six of the eight has there been a net reduction in the number of districts. The counties of Cook, Grundy, and Kankakee have today more districts than they had in 1910.²⁰

There was a time—but it was more than fifty years ago—when adoption of the township as the smallest school unit might have represented an important and constructive step toward a more efficient system of administrative areas. Without entering upon a long and solemn defense of the fact, the township may be disposed of here by the notation that it is subject to all the disadvantages of the present district system—only in lesser degree. They are too numerous for administrative convenience and too narrow a base even to begin to satisfy the principle of substantial equality of resources per child of school age. As shown in Table 10, La Porte County, Indiana, has one township that does not maintain even a single school, and each of the other two Hoosier counties in the Region have townships which have seen fit to combine in one form or another for the maintenance of one efficient school system.

For either regional Illinois or Wisconsin to toy with the idea of township organization now would be ridiculous. The Illinois Educational Commission of 1907–11 saw fit a quarter-century back to recommend the adoption of this jurisdiction as the basic school area, but a lot of water has gone under the bridge since then. The advisory staff of the

²⁰ In 1910 Cook had 179 districts; in 1936 it had 194.

Illinois Educational Commission of 1936, accepting the fact that the township is on its way out of the governmental picture everywhere in Chicagoland, if not in the whole United States, comes out flatly in favor of adopting the county as the basic school unit for all save strictly urban schools. The General Assembly, obliged to choose between a policy of recurring emergency remedies and one of fundamental reorganization, cannot achieve the latter short of establishing the county as the fundamental administrative area.²¹

Those who have studied the school situation in Wisconsin lean toward the same view. The Interior Legislative Commission on the Reorganization of Education in Wisconsin (1931) and Wisconsin Regional Planning Committee (1934) both take it as established that the county ought to be the basis of any new areal pattern for educational administration in that state.²²

If the township in any form represented a possible solution to the problem of better school districting, the state of Indiana, which has been experimenting with that entity for over a century, would be sure to bring it forward. But after a quarter-century spent in encouraging different plans of voluntary co-operation (with the result that in her metropolitan section today she has but one "joint school" and one "consolidated school"),²³ her State Committee on

²¹ Thomas E. Benner, Eugene S. Lawler, W. C. Reavis, and Oscar F. Weber, *Report of the Advisory Staff to the Illinois Educational Commission* (Springfield, 1936), p. 7 (hereafter cited as the Benner Report).

²² See the *Report of the former* (Madison, 1931), chap. ii; and the *Report of the latter* (Madison, 1934), pp. 126-30.

²³ In the case of "joint schools" the districts involved retain their corporate identities; in the case of "consolidated schools" the corporations involved really merge (cf. *Report of the Joint and Consolidated Schools Survey Commission* [Indianapolis, 1931], p. 9).

Governmental Economy recommended in its *Report* of 1935 that "the area of a county outside of school cities and school towns" should be constituted "a county school corporation."²⁴

The point should not need to be labored farther. Official bodies in all three regional states, prompted both by their findings in research locally and by the example of some eighteen states which either require or encourage use of the county as the basic nonurban school unit, have within the past few years agreed that the larger unit, which all admit to be long overdue, must be the county and nothing less. They likewise agree on the wisdom of continuing to permit urban centers to be incorporated for school purposes wherever they have attained sufficient size and wealth to support an efficient educational system. What this size needs to be has already been indicated in this chapter.

Discussion of preceding proposals for the rationalizing of school areas would not be complete if mention were not made of four or five other plans that have been suggested in recent years. Griffenhagen and Associates, reporting in 1932 on "Proposals for the Reorganization of Local Government in Illinois," recommended for Cook County abolition of the dual system of districts, abolition of the township as a supervisory and financial area, and division of the territory outside Chicago "into about twenty-five natural areas for local school administration."²⁵

Portia V. Parratt, summarizing her findings on "The Public Schools of Metropolitan Chicago," suggested the desirability at some future date of administering all the

²⁴ See the *Report* (Bernard C. Gavit, chairman [Indianapolis, 1935]), p. 431.

²⁵ See their report, titled as given above (Chicago, 1932), Part II: "Contents and Summaries," chap. ii, pp. 3-4 (mimeographed).

schools in Chicagoland through a single regional system.²⁶ Several metropolitan areas in the United States and abroad have tried, and in some cases are now using, special districts for the administration of certain functions. They have not, however, been unadulterated successes nor does Chicago's own best example of an *ad hoc* jurisdiction, the Sanitary District, offer any unusual inducement to set up such an area for education. It might, as Griffenhagen and Associates said of Cook County, be "administratively practicable" to deal with the entire Region as a single unit for school purposes. In view, however, of what the same writers called "the known definite preference of communities in the suburban areas for local management of their school affairs"²⁷ and in view of the fact that a special jurisdiction of this kind would represent a step away from that integration of education with local government which ought to be encouraged, this proposal to fix the Region itself as the unit of immediate school administration must be rejected.

For the same reasons as those which militate against employment of the Region as the basic area for school management, the suggestion, advocated most notably by experts like Swift, Morrison, and Fred Engelhardt, that greatly increased use be made of the state as a unit for school administration must likewise be rejected.²⁸ Fortunately, these well-known authorities are not opposed to adopting the county unit as an intermediate stage in what they envisage as a trend toward state school administration. They may be counted upon in the present period,

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, "Summary and Conclusions."

²⁷ Griffenhagen and Associates, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²⁸ See, e.g., Fred Engelhardt, *Public School Organization and Administration* (New York: Ginn & Co., 1931), p. 580.

therefore, to contribute to the drive for the larger school unit now sought by so many as an immediate objective.²⁹

Consistency demands that reference at least be made to the possibility of carrying this series to its logical conclusion, namely, employment of the nation as the unit of school administration. In the light of the traditions of local self-government that have been cherished in this country ever since its founding one must be allowed to dispose of this "proposal" by recourse to that device to which former Chief Justice White so frequently resorted: to state the proposition is to refute it. Yet it must be remembered that in this chapter discussion is confined to the problem of securing the best area for administration. In the chapter dealing with the question of the best area to employ for the financial support of public education, the nation may well be called upon to play an important role.

A NEW AREAL PATTERN

Apart from the political aspects just considered, the biggest fact that one must bear in mind while suggesting a new system of administrative areas for education in Illinois is that the dual system has been established. Willy-nilly it exists. The investment of millions of dollars in buildings located where they will best serve the needs of half-a-dozen communities is a fact that cannot be ignored. The dual system freezes the 8-4 division of grades in the schools of northeastern Illinois in a fashion effectively precluding adoption of the 6-3-3 or junior high school plan. It institutionalizes an arrangement whereby pupils graduating from sometimes lilliputian elementary schools enrol the following term in high schools that must in some in-

²⁹ Benner Report, p. 10.

stances seem as immense as universities. Yet that is the system Illinois and Wisconsin have, and it must be reckoned with.

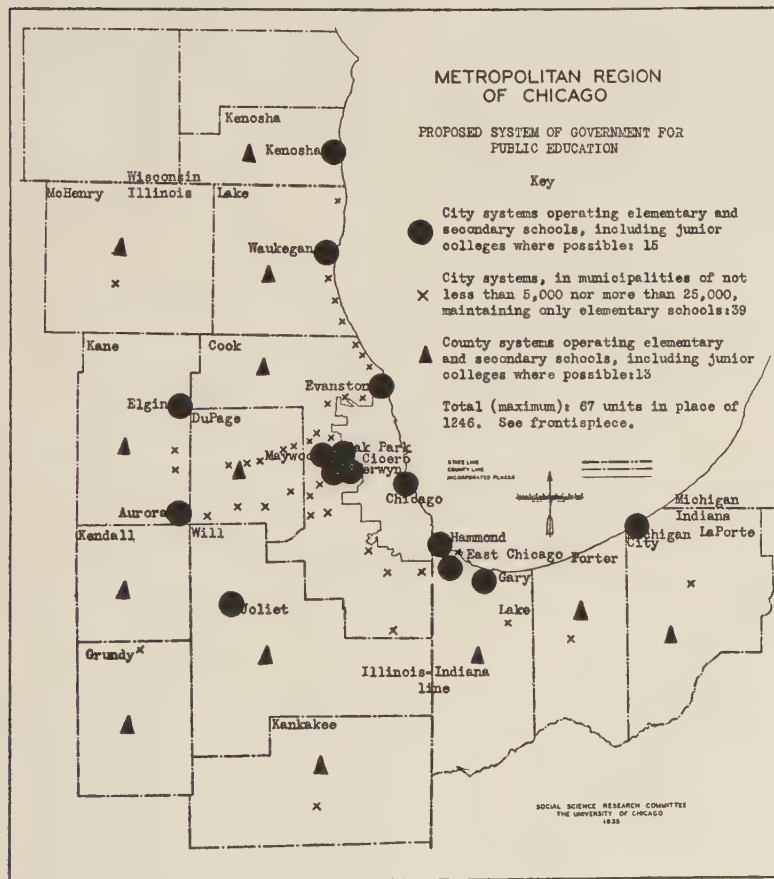
The following readjustments are proposed as best recognizing the standards that have been cited and the experience of people of the Region:

1. Establishment of (a) cities over 25,000 and (b) counties as fundamental areas for educational administration throughout the Region, each such unit being required to support a school program running from the kindergarten at least through the twelfth grade and satisfying standards set by the state board of education
2. Provision that municipalities of not less than 5,000 or more than 25,000 may be permitted to operate as school corporations for elementary education wherever they meet standards set as indicated above
3. Abolition of special jurisdictions, such as the Kenosha vocational school district
4. Formal co-operation by Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin in the solution of regional school problems either through some planning agency for all governmental activity in the Region or through a special council on educational administration. As a step in this direction, Illinois might adopt its own segment of the Region as an area useful for the better supervision of her schools.

Should such a new areal pattern be adopted, it would mean a reduction in the number of school administrative districts in the Region from 1,246 to, at most, 67 classifiable as shown in Table 12.

This areal arrangement would, in addition to simplifying the administrative pattern in such a fashion as to make it easily understandable, have the advantage of providing the Region with school districts coextensive in territory with one or the other of the two basic units in the American system of local government now emerging, namely, the city or the county. The road will then be open for another progressive step, in the reorganization of local government,

MAP II



viz., the integration of the school system with the other functions of these units.

Though the plan that has just been sketched commends itself as one of the best schemes for areal reorganization, it is by no means the only one worthy of consideration. The prospect of securing in the near future a Region-wide extension of the public school on the junior college level is, at present, by no means so reassuring as to render

TABLE 12

SUMMARY OF PROPOSED NEW AREAL PATTERN FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE CHICAGO REGION
WITH NUMBER OF EACH TYPE OF DISTRICT

Areas of Direct Administration	Number
Cities of 25,000 or over supporting programs embracing all grades from kindergarten through high school.	15
Cities ranging from 5,000 to 25,000 exercising option to operate as school corporations for elementary education only (maximum).	39
Counties supporting programs embracing all grades from kindergarten through high school. .	13
Total.	67

inappropriate, at least for many parts of the Region, a system of areas drawn primarily on the assumption that the high school will continue to mark the upper limits of the public educational system.

In examining the problem of areas from this angle, it is helpful to begin by observing that the ratio of total population to school population is approximately five to one.³⁰ Thus if, in planning a simplified areal pattern for school government in the Chicago Region, one were to ignore the

³⁰ William Anderson, *Local Government and Finance in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935), p. 250.

desirability and the probability of bringing the junior college generally into the public school system, it would be relatively easy to state what the minimal size of units should be. Research by Dawson led to the conclusion that in no case should a system embracing (as a school unit should) elementary and secondary grades have less than 1,600 pupils and 46 teaching units.³¹ This would mean a community of approximately 8,000 population. In order, however, to avoid "combination of functions and services in more than one major field by any individual," the system would have to include 9,800 pupils and 280 teaching units.³² This would fix 49,000 as the size of the community needed for operating a thoroughly efficient system comprising primary and secondary levels.

Should the plan be preferred of requiring every regional community of more than 8,000 population to maintain a full program embracing all grades from first to twelfth, and of intrusting all other schools to county boards, the reduction in the number of independent units would probably be even greater than that effected in the scheme favored here. There would then be thirty-seven city systems and thirteen county units, a total of fifty.

³¹ H. A. Dawson, *Satisfactory Local School Units* (Nashville: Peabody Teachers College, 1934), p. 81.

³² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF OVERHEAD CONTROL

WHY "INDEPENDENT" SCHOOL GOVERNMENT?

There is a theory supported by many events in American political history that one may observe in "the stream of social development" an invariable tendency to set up a new public function independently and place it under separate management. Either existing mechanisms are thought to be without the flexibility necessary for launching a new activity or no old machinery exists. In some instances the service which it is proposed to inaugurate may not even be new; it may be simply a marked expansion of some function already under way. Yet the view may prevail that only through the boon of independent status will it be possible to secure aggressive development and management.

Considerations like these operated in the nineteenth century to induce the legislatures of the old northwestern states to implement the school provisions in the Ordinance of 1787 as they did.¹ In any event, shortly after admission to statehood of Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin, all three drafted plans for the operation of public schools which, though they made incidental use of other local entities, effectively set education apart from the rest of government—and there it has been ever since.²

¹ It will be remembered that this famous ordinance set aside the "sixteenth section" of every township for free public education.

² Cubberley has suggested that independence for school government may be explained in part as a "frontier necessity."

It is possible also that general distrust of government, coupled with the idea that education was not one of its normal functions, militated against the organization of school administration under local political units. This viewpoint prevailed in England, for example, almost without exception down to the passage of the Forster Education Act of the 1870's. Not until 1902 were the public schools of that country integrated with local governing units.³ Since then great progress in education has been made, and there is now no thought of returning to the former system.

By and large, there has been comparatively little criticism of the *ad hoc* arrangement in America. Down almost to the opening of the twentieth century, American life was relatively simple, the national income was usually adequate and fairly well distributed, desirable land was to be had almost for the asking, there were few densely populated sections, and public agencies had in general enough "elbow room" so that they could normally accomplish their work without getting in one another's way. But this period seems now to have passed and complexity in public affairs seems to have reached a point where the American people are obliged to take stock of their social machinery and perhaps order some readjustments.

Throughout the nation the typical system of school government today is on the independent model. For municipalities of 30,000 population and over concerning which data are available on this point, 96 per cent have superintendents of schools selected by independent boards of edu-

³ William A. Robson (of the London School of Economics), in Conference on Relations of Schools and Cities (Charles E. Merriam, chairman [University of Chicago, June 2, 1933]), *Condensed Report of Proceedings*, pp. 83-88 (hereafter cited as *Report on Schools and Cities*).

cation, 3 per cent have elected superintendents, and 0.6 per cent have superintendents appointed by the chief executive of the municipal corporation. As compared with other functions, education is least of all integrated with the rest of local government. Six per cent of city librarians and 19 per cent of city clerks secure their positions through appointment by the chief executive. The most integrated of all municipal functions is that of fire administration; 53 per cent of all fire chiefs are directly appointed by the mayor.⁴

Fiscal autonomy is perhaps the best test of independent school control. McGoughy found in the 1920's that of 42 American cities having 200,000 population or more, 17, including Chicago and Philadelphia, had independent school government; 11, including New York City and Detroit, had dependent systems; and 10, including Los Angeles, were in a special class wherein, though school administrators were not subordinate to the municipal administration, they were frequently dependent on other governmental bodies such as boards of county commissioners. Four cities did not report.⁵

Complete independence of school boards prevails in slightly more than half the American cities at the present time, and it may be that there is a tendency toward independence. The dependent type of organization is "more

⁴ Percentages are derived from data on 723 cities computed from statistics available in the *Municipal Yearbook, 1935*, pp. 247-69. See the report on urban government by the National Resources Committee for a more complete analysis.

⁵ J. R. McGoughy, *Fiscal Administration of City School Systems: A Report of the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924), cited in Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, "Fiscal Relationships between City and School Authorities" (Report No. 120 [Detroit, 1931]), p. 7 (mimeographed).

frequent in Eastern cities and in cities over 100,000" population;⁶ that is the most that can be said for it.

By self-assignment, as explained in the introductory chapter, this inquiry is especially concerned with the relationships of education to government. Yet it is not for that reason unmindful of the need for a happy relationship between other functional authorities and the central political unit. The schools do not operate in a social vacuum regardless of the impression they have sometimes given. Employment of *ad hoc* devices should be examined from two standpoints: (a) the effect upon a function when the administration of it is set up under an independent authority and (b) the effect upon the other activities of government on that level when a function, especially a major one, is given this separate status. It has been the fashion to analyze only the first of these phases when studying the government of public education.⁷

PRESENT STRUCTURE OF SCHOOL GOVERNMENT IN THE REGION

Since the year 1917 the public schools of the city of Chicago have been operating under what is known as the Otis law. General supervision and control is vested in a Board of Education of eleven members, appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the City Council for five-year overlapping terms. (Prior to 1917 there had been twenty-one members on the Board.) American citizenship and residence in Chicago for five years next preceding appointment are the only qualifications set by the statute. No

⁶ Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁷ The writer does not want to create the impression that he thinks he is the first to emphasize the importance of this second standpoint or that there are not many students of metropolitan Chicago's confusing governmental system who see school government in its total setting.

salary attaches to the office. That the General Assembly intended the Board, once appointed, to have complete charge of the school system admits of no doubt. It expressly declared that no power vested in that body or in "any of its officers, agents, or employees shall be exercised by the City Council."⁸ Whether or not a mayor might circumvent this provision was settled in the negative when, in June of 1914, under the old law, which was similar on this point, the supreme court of the state held invalid certain resignations given undated to the mayor by several persons as a precondition imposed by him of their nomination to the Board.⁹ On the surface, therefore, the arrangement would seem to be an airtight one for "keeping the schools out of politics" and for giving the Board an absolutely free hand. But what the law intended and what has transpired under it are two different things.

There is one serious artificial hindrance to good management embodied in the Otis law. The Board of Education, apparently free to go ahead and operate the schools of the city in the manner of a board of directors governing the affairs of a corporation, is required to execute its policies not through a general manager but through *three* of them, co-ordinate in power in their respective fields: a superintendent of schools, a business manager, and an attorney.¹⁰ Thus at the very apex of the administrative structure there is an effective barrier to proper management—educa-

⁸ *School Law of Illinois* (Circular 256 [Springfield: Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction]), secs. 128, 136-37.

⁹ *People ex rel. Dibolka v. Reinberg*, 263 Ill. 536. Quoted in Strayer Report, V, 11.

¹⁰ Up to 1934 guaranties of tenure, in the form of four-year terms, attached to all three of these offices; in that year, however, safeguards were removed from the business manager and the attorney (cf. *School Law of Illinois* [Springfield, 1933], p. 63, and *ibid.* [Springfield, 1935], p. 71).

tion department, business department, and law department are independent of one another.

With some important exceptions in Indiana, the government of education outside Chicago proper is designed to establish even more complete separation of the schools from local public authorities than that which obtains in the central city. All the districts in regional Illinois have popularly elected boards. In the case of the common-school district, members are called school directors; in all others they are known collectively as boards of education. All have three-year terms. As for size, the boards of the common-school and non-high-school districts have three members; consolidated, township, and community high-school districts have five; community-consolidated districts have seven; and districts from 1,000 to 100,000 population have from seven to fifteen.¹¹

Wisconsin's common-school districts have elective boards of three members, as do the high-school districts; in both cases terms run for three years. Independent city districts are permitted to elect as many as seven board members.

The governing authorities in Indiana's section of the Region comprise three officials: for the township a single trustee elected for a term of four years; for school towns and cities, three trustees appointed for two years. An exception is made in the case of Hammond; it has a board of five appointed by the mayor.¹² Whatever the mode of choosing school officials, however, the idea of "separation" obtains just as it does in Chicago.

¹¹ Portia V. Parratt, "The Public Schools of Metropolitan Chicago" (University of Chicago thesis [1932]), p. 28.

¹² *Report of Indiana State Committee on Governmental Economy* (Indianapolis, 1935), p. 452.

EXCESSIVE USE OF *ad hoc* AUTHORITIES

If the device of an independent governing authority had been employed only in the case of the school, it is possible that, except for the diminutiveness of the districts, the plan could have given general satisfaction indefinitely. But its employment was multiplied many times over on every level of government, local, state, and national.¹³ For two- or three-score years the standard method of giving official recognition to a public problem was to appoint a commission to look after it and to vest in it both tax-levying and ordinance-making powers. By the workings of this process there grew up around the original and time-honored structures of city, state, and federal governments, each with their small group of departments, a veritable jungle of independent boards and commissions. The specialization that had engulfed the medical profession and assigned a different specialist to every organ of the physical body was as nothing compared to the division of labor worked out to care for the needs of the body politic. Any city that had less than a dozen such *ad hoc* agencies counted itself a back number; one or two of the states had over a hundred boards and commissions; and the federal government, perhaps a little late in getting started, has been making up for it in the last fifteen or twenty years so extensively that today it requires a looseleaf notebook of the United States Information Service even for the officials in Washington to keep track of the aggregate.

Under the system of special districts and authorities, so perilous for democracy because it makes it impossible for the average citizen even to grasp what Howard Vincent O'Brien calls "the broad outlines of his world," it has been the common thing for people—not least among them "our

¹³ Luther Gulick, in *Report on Schools and Cities*, pp. 52-53.

best citizens"—to examine government like the blind men who examined the elephant. Each of these unseeing men fastened his attention on one part and regarded it as the whole. In the same manner, one group of citizens will work enthusiastically for a beautiful library and ignore the other phases of municipal activity. Another set of people will manifest a consuming interest in parks and may so far forget the other functions of the city that they will be willing to "trade the city for parks. Another set will be interested in schools and will trade the government for schools."¹⁴ Historically there may have been some justification for this specialization of interest, but today this reluctance or refusal *to see things whole* operates as a great handicap whereby well-intentioned and well-educated people do government a great disservice. They have yet to learn to see all things political in relation to the welfare of every public function. Once they do, there is little doubt but that they will accept the verdict so concisely phrased by Merriam thus: "I see no escape from the consolidation of school government with all the rest of government."¹⁵

Many of the states have gone a long way toward setting their houses in order since Illinois took the lead with her civil code of 1917, but much remains to be done. There has been talk of reorganization at Washington ever since the Taft commission of 1913, and something may ere long be accomplished.¹⁶ In the case of the local units there have been several notable examples of simplification of structure—witness the consolidation of Chicago's park systems

¹⁴ Charles E. Merriam in an address "As the Cities Go, So Goes the Nation," printed in *Municipal Problems, 1932*, ed. Paul V. Betters (Chicago, 1932), p. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ President Roosevelt indicated in the summer of 1938 that executive reorganization is still on his agenda.

in 1934—but the bulk of the job remains. It has been estimated, for example, that consolidation and integration of governmental units in Chicago and Cook County alone would result in an annual saving of more than \$21,000,000 of taxpayers' money, or approximately 5 per cent of present public expenditures. Yearly savings in the administration of education alone would amount to \$450,000.¹⁷

“KEEPING THE SCHOOLS OUT OF POLITICS”

It is accepted that the more discerning among those who never tire of shouting, “Keep the schools out of politics,” or “Keep politics out of the schools,” intend in either case to signify by the term “politics” bad or spoils politics. The majority of those who shout this refrain stamp themselves, however, as oblivious of any distinctions in the term. To them, “politics is politics,” “politics” is all dirt and graft and corruption, and, it follows naturally, “politics” is something that can and should be kept out of the schools. It is all as simple as that.

How much damage has been wrought to the fabric of American school and municipal government by this sort of reasoning one may only guess. But it must be enormous. It is one of the most penetrating observations on the type of political education the schools of metropolitan Chicago have been giving that the friends of the public schools have heretofore agreed generally that the secret of good overhead organization is to build a Chinese wall between the schools and the City Hall—or the County Building.

The classroom and the cloister apparently do have some-

¹⁷ Griffenhagen and Associates, “Proposals for the Reorganization of Local Government in Illinois” (Chicago, 1932), Part II, chap. xix, pp. 32-33 (multi-graphed).

thing of an atmosphere of their own.¹⁸ Unless he makes a real effort to avoid it, the school superintendent, principal, or teacher drifts over easily into a world wherein his problems are circumscribed by the schoolyard or the campus. It becomes the proper thing for him to take the view that his work has little to do with municipal government but is tied up instead with a separate agency of the state—an agency so far removed in normally prosperous times from soul-deadening concern with mundane things that it can afford to spend its whole time in pursuit of things of the mind and of the spirit. Constantly circulating tales of corruption at the City Hall serve only to confirm him in his belief that he can have no part with the gentry in command there, and that he should redouble his vigilance with regard to keeping the domain of education safe from their undesirable influence. So thinking—let him who has studied the complete record deny it—he does his part in spreading among his fellow-citizens a gospel of unvarying righteousness in the schools and unrelieved venality in politics.

In these endeavors he has not been unsuccessful by any means. It was observed in the preceding section that throughout America—and their proportion is not less in the Chicago Region—there are unnumbered thousands of people, rated by themselves and by others as among “the better class of citizens,” who have been converted to this creed. The ranks of those who follow that “will o’ the wisp” of “keeping the schools out of politics” are legion. They may even be growing. Such drastic setbacks as education has been forced to suffer during the past few years seem, in some cases, only to have had the effect of leading

¹⁸ If the author overstates the case here, as he probably does, it is for the purpose of demonstrating clearly the trend of thought by “school people” (with which group he generally identifies himself) regarding local government.

them to rededicate themselves to the attainment of their doctrinaire goal. They have learned little from experience.

One might think that so complete a failure of the plan of separating and sheltering education from the baleful influence of the politicians as American has witnessed in recent years would furnish the occasion for a thorough re-examination of the premises upon which the theory rested. Here and there it has, but not generally.¹⁹ Instead of inquiring whether they were being asked to fight for an unattainable ideal (waiving for the present the point of its desirability), many "better citizens" have been inclined to tighten their belts another notch and to renew their oaths to free the schools from political influence.

To the uninitiated this is altogether praiseworthy; to the analytical student of political science it is somewhat naïve. The rational thing to do under the circumstances is to re-examine the facts upon which this creed is based and the logic upon which its program of action proceeds. The main reasons why education is kept separate from the rest of government today comprise these propositions: the educational function is so different from the rest of government as to call for differential treatment; politics is and always will be corrupt; it is possible to separate educational administration from the rest of government and thereby keep it pure. The record disproves the validity of all three.²⁰

There are many things wrong with the plan of trying to keep the schools apart from the rest of government, but the one that stands out above all others is the hard, cold

¹⁹ The forthright manner in which some of the leaders of the Citizens' Schools Committee have co-operated with those interested in the elimination of vote frauds may be cited as evidence that some friends of the schools realize that education can be protected only through clean politics.

²⁰ Cf. Louis Brownlow, in *Report on Schools and Cities*, p. 67.

fact that it can never be more than partially successful.²¹ What is worse, desperate efforts to make it work sometimes have the effect of magnifying the difficulties already existing. The history of the Chicago public schools during the last twenty years offers proof of the correctness of this assertion. The theory of independent control of education has been expounded and defended vociferously throughout the period, but has it kept the schools out of politics and politics out of the schools? It seems absurd even to put the question.²²

Of all the trends seen in the perspective of the last generation none is more significant than this: the government of education has invariably taken its cue from the government of the municipality. The theory of the separation and independence of the schools from local politics has been on the statute-books all the time, but it has been honored in the breach more than in the observance. Through the "stormy" years of Harrison, the brazen years of Thompson, the "decent" years of Dever, the indecisive years of Cermak, and the ruthless years of Kelly, the City Hall has set the standards for the operation of the public schools as well as of all the other public services. The only time when there has been anything in the nature of a detachment of the Board of Education from the City Hall was during the administration of Dever, 1923-27.

²¹ See W. H. Campbell, "What Does Chicago Do to Its School Superintendents?" *Chicago's Schools*, April, 1936. The writer, examiner for the Chicago school system under Superintendents Young, Shoop, Chadsey, Mortenson, and McAndrews, describes Chicago's Board of Education as a "firing squad" and tries to prove his argument from the record.

²² See Charles H. Judd, "The Chicago School System," an address to the Standard Club of Chicago in March, 1934 (MS). George S. Counts' study of *School and Society in Chicago* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928) is simply one long exposition of the futility of the idea of an *independent* school system.

Some authorities, failing to analyze this development in a larger frame of reference, have cited it as proof that politics can be kept out of the schools. What really happened was that here, for perhaps the first time in a generation, relatively good politics rather than bad politics dominated the schools.

The government of education ordinarily plays second fiddle to the politics of Chicago and Cook County. This is necessarily and properly, though perhaps sometimes regrettably, so. Appointments to the Board of Education reflect the standards of the group that has come out on top in the most recent mayoral struggle. Thompson had his Loeb and Coath and Myers, Dever had his Moderwell, and Kelly has his McCahey. The City Hall sets the pace. Within the last decade the trend has become even more pronounced. Thompson easily browbeat his board into the scourging and dismissal of McAndrew. Kelly has effected the severest school retrenchment of the century, though escaping what might be regarded as his due share of opprobrium for the action.

Not even the teachers, themselves among the most insistent that the schools and politics be kept separate, have been able to steer clear of political entanglements. They have developed numerous powerful organizations and used them to bring pressure on political officials locally and at the state capital, all of which is perfectly proper. The only criticism called for is the constructive one that the teachers ought to see the implications of what they have inevitably been obliged to do and openly accept them.²³ Consistency requires that they leave off harping on "keeping the schools out of politics" when what they really are working for is

²³ Many of their leaders do appreciate the inconsistency that characterizes their political activity under the present plan.

the injection of good politics into the government of public education.²⁴

Time has not permitted the making of a thorough investigation of the extent of political domination in other school districts throughout the Region, but it is well known that Chicago's is not an isolated instance. Gary has had her troubles too. Kenosha had very little success in keeping "bad" politics out of the schools before she adopted the city-manager form of government in the early 1920's. The situation in Cicero just a few years ago, though on smaller scale, is held by some to have been worse than anything that has happened even in the central city of the Region. At one stage the Cicero school system had an average of nearly one janitor for every three teachers.²⁵

That it is a mistake to assume that the corruption always comes from outside the board of education is a fact well illustrated by a prize piece of pilfering that came to light a few years ago in one of the independent school districts of Cook County. An undertaker in a small town, a former school-board secretary and for fifteen years political "boss" of the community, was discovered by an alert committee of the American Legion to have diverted to his mortuary chapel, among other things, one hundred funeral chairs never shown to have been ordered by the school board but payment for which had been made in school tax-anticipation warrants. Accountants expected the shortage

²⁴ See the Counts' volume for a good report on the political activities of Chicago schoolteachers in the past generation.

²⁵ H. V. Church, former principal of J. Sterling Morton High School, Cicero, in an interview with the author. See *Time*, December 5, 1932, p. 30, for an account of politics in the schools at Cicero; *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1933, for a similar report on the Proviso Township High School District; and again the *Tribune*, March 24, 1932, for a report of the same tenor relating to East Chicago, Indiana.

in funds to amount to as much as \$12,000.²⁶ Here is evidence not only that there may be corruption in an independent board of education but that the corruption is not different in any way from that so generally accepted as being inherent in politics elsewhere.

Reserved to the last of this section devoted to proving that the *ad hoc* system of school government does not work according to its theory is the citation of the "broad-side" issued by Mayor Kelly in defense of his record, prior to the 1935 mayoralty campaign. It bore the title "What Every Chicago Citizen Should Know about Our Schools." What a *reductio ad absurdum* for the theory that once he has appointed the Board members the mayor has "nothing to do with the schools"!²⁷

HOW THE REST OF GOVERNMENT IS HANDICAPPED

The legal separation of schools from politics has had its counterpart in the divorcement of the two in the teaching that has been carried on in the classroom. Principals and instructors, while praising the excellence of educational administration, have helped implant in the minds of their pupils one-sided conceptions of city government that have had the effect of poison in the body politic. Recent years have witnessed many encouraging developments in municipal government, yet students have been allowed to absorb from their parents and from the newspapers a defeatist philosophy with respect to repairing this segment of the American political framework. They have frequently been encouraged in the viewpoint that, the sooner they accept crookedness in political officials as the

²⁶ *Chicago Daily News*, December 11 and 15, 1934.

²⁷ Mayor Thompson's blurbs in defense of his school record prior to 1931 were in some instances even more blatant than this one released by Kelly.

normal thing, the better they will be able to do something constructive for the schools. The damage that has been done to government generally by this unintentionally destructive teaching is incalculable. Educators must themselves bear a great deal of responsibility for the spoils politics of which they have been complaining so vehemently.²⁸

Is it too early to expect that the educational guild will begin ere long to see their work *in relation* to the rest of public activity? Or are they going to persist year after year in idle and futile condemnations of the "prevalent practice of political interference with the schools?"²⁹ The picture some schoolmen have of an undefiled and uncorrupted educational system existing side by side with a cesspool of political corruption has no foundation in fact and never did have. It exists, if at all, only in their imagination.

PROPOSED REORGANIZATION FOR CHICAGO

The people of the Region are paying a terrific price for the poor satisfaction of trying to make a defective structural system work long after the conditions which might once have enabled it to function have been displaced by a new set of circumstances. Yet there is no consensus of

²⁸ Dean Charles H. Judd, speaking at the Conference on the Relation of Schools and Cities, declared: "It seems to be one of the fundamental facts of the separation of the schools and general municipality that children are brought up in our American schools to despise the rest of government . . . this separation is one of the most important catastrophes we encounter in American civilization . . . this separation is disturbing our whole thinking" (*Report on Schools and Cities*, pp. 63-64).

²⁹ This was a National Education Association resolution in 1899. Quoted in Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York: Scribner's, 1935), p. 253. Cf. Henry Suzzalo, "A Declaration of Independence for Public Education," *Proceedings of the N.E.A.*, 1927, p. 26.

opinion on the remedy that should be adopted other than that outside the larger urban centers the administrative unit must be enlarged. The most that can be done to classify the reforms proposed is to place them into two broad categories: (1) those based on the assumption that "educational progress has been definitely related to the development of state systems of education" separated from politics³⁰ and (2) those based on the idea that educational administration must on every level, but particularly the local, be integrated with the rest of government.

Shrinking from contact with the city-hall crowd, T. L. Reller, of the University of Pennsylvania, has championed the plan of "separation" and opposed the proposal to abolish boards of education as governing bodies over city and rural schools on the principle that "to vest education in the hands of the city council would be to put back the clock of progress for a generation or more." He wants to go "forward" to the development of state control because "education in this country ceased to be a municipal function several decades ago."³¹

George D. Strayer, of Columbia's famous Teachers College, sees eye to eye with Reller at this point. Completing recently a survey of the schools of Yonkers, New York, he recommended "greater autonomy of the board of education from the city's board of estimate."³² Fred Engelhardt, professor of educational administration at the University of Minnesota, is in substantial agreement. He wrote not long since a defense of school boards in which he holds the

³⁰ T. L. Reller, "School Board *vs.* Municipal Government Control of Education," *American School Board Journal*, February, 1934, pp. 15-16.

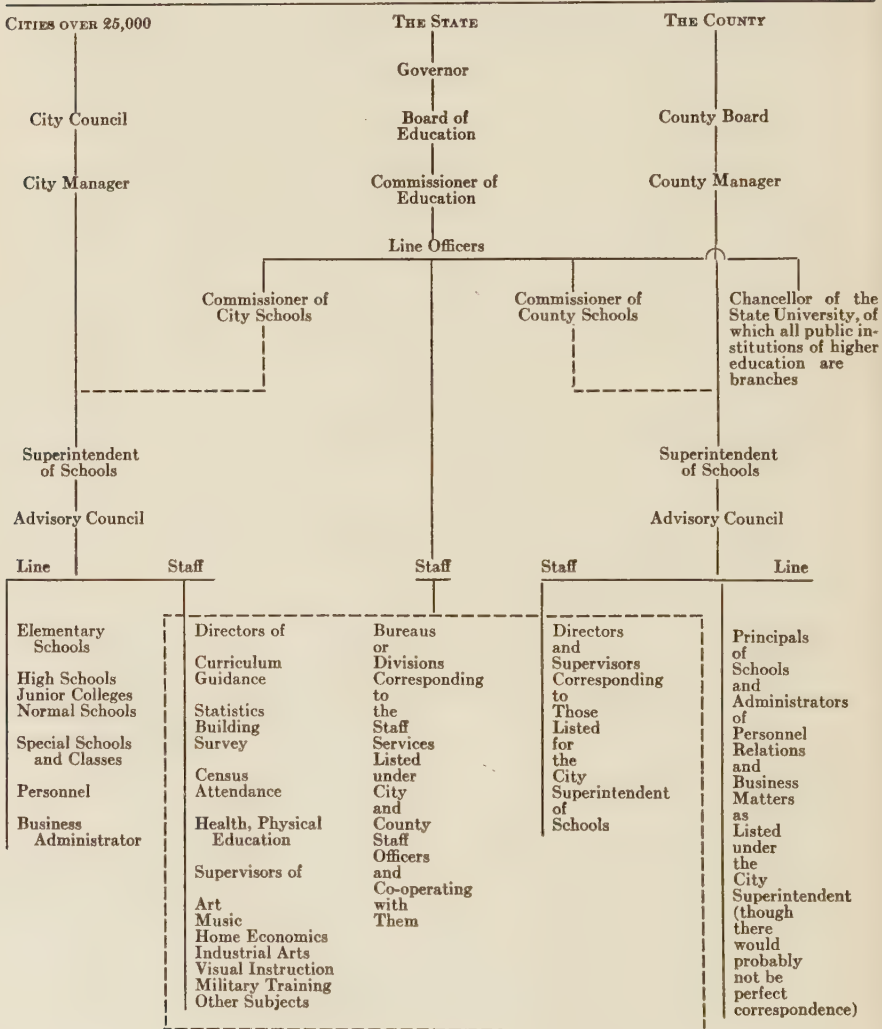
³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³² News note in *National Municipal Review*, July, 1934, p. 365.

CHART V

AN IDEAL PLAN OF SCHOOL GOVERNMENT

THE VOTERS OF



laity have done well.³³ Professor Engelhardt seemed, however, to be concerned only with the schools' solving of *their own* problems. From such a viewpoint this book strongly dissents.

This line of reasoning, though widely accepted, is, in the writer's view, invalidated by a fundamental misconception relative to the specific developments that have made for what is called progress. What these authorities see as the line of advancement is the tendency toward a somewhat larger independent unit and a closer state supervision. Do they not mistake form for substance? The touchstone of progress has been not the trend toward state control *per se* but the trend toward a science of public administration of which improved school administration is but one aspect. This is the prime secret of whatever headway has been made; this is the trend which must be safeguarded and encouraged.

As an exposition of the opposite viewpoint regarding the organizational structure for which the people of the Region should plan, this study presents on the accompanying page what the author has dignified by the title of an "ideal plan of school government." It proposes these adjustments:

1. Abolish local boards of education and eliminate school directors and trustees.
2. Establish a classification of city schools for communities having a population of not less than 25,000 subject to requirements stipulated in the preceding chapter.
3. Establish a classification of county schools for all other communities.
4. Vest in mayors or managers of cities and in boards, or managers, of counties power to appoint superintendents of schools.
5. Retain present safeguards of tenure for administrators and enlarge them where possible.

³³ "In Defense of School Boards," *Nation's Schools*, May, 1934, *passim*.

6. Constitute the superintendent in each case sole executive in charge of school affairs.
7. Recognize the principle of direct popular participation in the control of education by arranging for the superintendent to consult from month to month with a council on school administration functioning wholly in an advisory capacity and composed of members nominated from, and possibly by, various interest and functional groups.
8. Establish a state department of education controlled by a state board of education and operating through a single commissioner of education to supervise and standardize school administrative practice throughout the state.
9. Require line and staff organization under the superintendents to whatever extent will promote efficiency.
10. Effect corresponding changes in the whole structure of local government, adopting wherever possible the council-manager form of government. (Co-ordination of public budgets, itself an important reason for integration and one of the most significant phases of it, will be discussed in a later chapter, likewise the need for changes in the general organization of local government.)

With their system of school government reorganized along these lines,³⁴ Chicagoans would be in a position effectively to demand good administration of their school system. Now they get it, when they do, through fortuitous circumstance. Integration of the type described would not of itself usher in the millennium, but it would remove many of the present innumerable artificial hindrances to direct and effective public control and to efficient administration.

What the schools might lose of a paper independence they would more than recover in the substance of a fair co-ordi-

³⁴ The National Municipal League, in suggesting constitutional provisions to accompany its model city charter, proposes that American cities be clothed with power "to organize and administer public schools and libraries, subject to the general laws establishing a standard of education for the state" (*Model City Charter, 1933*, p. 18).

nation. Under the present arrangement even experienced observers like the editorial writers of the *Chicago Daily News* are led to believe that they can avoid the unavoidable by demanding that "Kelly Shall Not Run the Schools!"³⁵ Naturally the mayor is going to run the schools.³⁶ He should. The essence of good strategy is certainly not to let a spoils-minded mayor appoint his own party aides to positions on an "independent" board of education and then insist that he leave them alone; rather, while keeping such a board, it would be, during mayoralty campaigns, to raise as one of the principal issues the question, "How do the respective candidates stand on school matters?"³⁷ Under the proposed setup, men might cease to chase the figments of their own imaginations.³⁸

Today there is no effective check by the City Council on the qualifications of the mayor's nominees for Board membership. The Municipal Voters' League, reporting on the records of sitting aldermen prior to the primaries in the

³⁵ See the school editorials for February 11, March 26, and March 27, 1936, as recent examples of hundreds in similar vein.

³⁶ S. J. Duncan-Clark of the *Daily News* staff, speaking on "The Future Trend of Education" (United Citizens' Council Meeting, Hyde Park Baptist Church, November 26, 1935), declared that one of the most significant trends noticeable in recent years was the frequency with which citizen groups have taken school matters directly to the mayor's office rather than to the Board of Education.

³⁷ Admittedly, it will be difficult to make school administration the principal issue in mayoral campaigns as long as so many people in the city are facing as their chief personal issue the question of security and work.

³⁸ The naïveté displayed by the *Chicago Daily News* (April 21, 1936) in insisting that President McCahey of the Board of Education should not engage in "sequestered conference with the mayor" relative to the appointment of a successor to Bogan is astounding. Both of these men are "key politicians in their local party organizations"; it is positively utopian to assume that they could be kept from conferring no matter how much pressure those who believe it possible to "keep politics out of the schools" should put on them.

spring of 1935, declared flatly that, in passing upon the qualifications of Mr. Kelly's appointees on the Board, the aldermen had become in effect so many rubber stamps. The Council has "failed signally," it said, "to scrutinize the qualifications for office of executive appointees. We have no record of a single dissent from the fifty aldermen on the mayor's school board selections."³⁹

It would be impossible to imagine a greater contrast than that between the picture just given and the severity of the scrutiny to which school-board appointments were subjected twenty years ago. For members of the City Council in 1915-16, for example, it was not enough to be assured that appointees to the Board of Education were ordinarily good citizens satisfying age and residence requirements; they undertook to secure in advance knowledge as to how the proposed Board member would resolve various crucial issues known to be pending.⁴⁰ They demanded, on the one hand, positive statements of social and economic philosophy and, on the other, clear-cut answers to specific questions.⁴¹ The natural consequence of this careful checking by the Council was that appointments

³⁹ Quoted in *Chicago Daily News*, February 2, 1935.

⁴⁰ Chicago City Council, *Journal of Proceedings*, 1915-16, II, 1904-10.

⁴¹ Here are some of the questions put to the appointees in 1915: Have you any children and, if so, have they attended or are they at present attending the public schools? Do you approve of the policy of permitting the City Council, which levies and appropriates all taxes for public school purposes, to investigate the finances of the Board of Education? Do you believe that the Board of Education should forbid its employees to belong to labor unions . . . to organizations which are affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor? Do you favor the development of social centers and the opening of assembly halls, gymnasiums, and swimming pools of the public schools for the free use of the public during hours when the school is not occupied by the school children? Do you favor the extension of vocational education in the public schools? (*ibid.*, p. 1905).

were not infrequently rejected and that some were occasionally withdrawn before the Council acted on them.⁴²

With the recent "complete abdication" by the Council of the role of critical adviser to the mayor respecting appointments, boards of education in the city of Chicago have frequently been packed with appointees who either through incapacity or through deliberate intent have "hamstrung" the school system. Mayors have not picked for school-board membership men markedly different from those they have nominated to other posts within their jurisdiction. If there is an artificial formula that will unerringly oblige a spoils-conscious mayor fresh from a grueling political campaign fought on a low level of sportsmanship to appoint good men to a board of education and then keep him from trying to influence or intimidate his appointees, it has not yet been discovered.⁴³

As to the representative character of the Chicago Board, Counts has shown how through a generation it has been recruited almost exclusively from the "better elements" in Chicago society, yet it has not given general satisfaction.⁴⁴ The verdict of the most venerated Board member is, at the least, a very disparaging one. She would prefer to see it abolished and replaced by a nonpartisan board, directly elected.

⁴² Three appointments to the Board were rejected in 1915-16, e.g., and one was withdrawn (*ibid.*, pp. 97-99; see also *Proceedings, 1917-18*, pp. 232 and 547.)

⁴³ The political nature of the appointments Chicago's present mayor has made to the Board is clearly brought out by what happened in the case of two resignations from that body in the winter of 1935-36. Mr. Buehler resigned to accept the juicy plum represented by the position of counsel for the Sanitary District, and Mr. Drymalski resigned to accept appointment to the county board of tax appeals (see *Chicago Tribune* for December 20 and the *Daily News* for December 24, 1935).

⁴⁴ See his *School and Society in Chicago* and also his *Social Composition of Boards of Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

I am compelled to believe that the present type of school board is a failure and should be done away with. . . . The existing board is too often composed of men without any knowledge of or interest in educational problems, men appointed to serve political purposes and who, once these purposes are served, give way to others as unprepared and unable to cope with school problems.⁴⁵

It is not improbable that reconstituting the Board through election by proportional representation would make it somewhat less nonrepresentative, but it would seem to be better strategy to work for a truly representative municipal council and use such a body as a forum for decision on all major public policies. Abolition of the Board may be defended even if there should be delay in the reform of the Council because, unsatisfactory as that body is, it is nevertheless fully as representative as the Board—if not more so. Proof of this statement is furnished occasionally in the daily press in the form of reports of appearances by aldermen at meetings of the Board of Education,⁴⁶ and in the *Proceedings* of the City Council, containing as any volume does, a column or more in the index citing instances of communications from citizens or resolutions by the Council regarding school affairs.

Up until 1933, Chicago's Board flagrantly violated the principle of working as a board. It transacted the major portion of its work through seven standing committees appointed by the president. So much of its time at semi-monthly meetings was given over to the reports of these committees—a majority of which were passed without discussion—that large questions of policy either were slighted or went without a hearing. An equally regrettable feature

⁴⁵ Mrs. Helen Hefferan in a news release of the Save Our Schools Committee, August 5, 1933.

⁴⁶ The *Chicago Daily News* (February 27, 1936) printed, as an example of this procedure, a story headed "Alderman Daley Pleads for School Extension."

of this method of procedure was that certain matters of detail which should, and otherwise would, have been handled by one of the three executives never reached their hands at all until they had been imbedded in the concrete of a formal Board resolution which they were expected to execute without modifying.⁴⁷

As a result of recommendations in the Strayer Report, a new set of rules governing Board action was drawn up and adopted in May of 1933. Pertinent sections of the chapter on "Committees" read as follows:

There shall be a General Committee of the Board, which Committee shall consist of the President and all other members of the Board of Education and to which Committee all matters pertaining to school affairs may be referred.

When so directed by the Board, the President shall appoint special committees to consider the report upon the special matters referred to said committees.

All matters requiring Board action shall first be presented to the Board. At the request of two or more members, any matter when presented may be referred to a committee. . . .

All committees shall report in writing at least once each month, the status of matters referred to them. The Board may, at any time, recall from any committee any matter referred to it.⁴⁸

These new regulations still make possible the performance of Board work through committees when and as the Board sees fit to create them. As a matter of fact, very slight use has been made of special committees. The General Committee, scheduled to meet for fifteen minutes prior to the regular meeting of the Board, has become the principal channel through which the Board does its work. One of the assistant superintendents has estimated that more

⁴⁷ Strayer Report, V, 12-13.

⁴⁸ *Rules of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago (Adopted May 10, 1933)*, p. 5.

than 95 per cent of the Board's business had under the new rules been handled by that body sitting jointly.⁴⁹ The basic idea underlying the principle of acting *as a board* has not been observed, however; this is that a board ought to confine its attention to problems of policy and eschew details. The published *Proceedings* of the Board are fully as bulky today as they were in the years preceding the change.

Under the new system, moreover, the public is quite effectively precluded from listening in on the discussion of school problems. Formal meetings, whether of the General Committee or of the Board, are simply used to ratify in rubber-stamp fashion what has been decided previously in private conferences or in meetings of the General Committee—which latter not infrequently extend far past the hour set for the formal open meetings of the Board. The Otis law provides that Board meetings shall be open and public, and it has recently been insisted by the president of a well-known civic organization that business should be conducted by the Board in such a way that “the public can understand what is being done.”⁵⁰ There is objection to the practice of perfunctorily disposing of bills by “omnibus” or “reference to the law department.”⁵¹ The president of the Board counters by saying discussion can be and is largely omitted because the members get copies of all bills forty-eight hours before they are to be acted

⁴⁹ From an interview, March 18, 1935.

⁵⁰ Letter of Mrs. Mark P. Mears, president of the Woman's City Club of Chicago, to James B. McCahey, president of the Board, as reported in the *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1935, p. 13.

⁵¹ See Gifford Ernest's characterization of school-board methods in an article explaining how Chicago's schools are being “Tammanyized” (*Chicago Daily News*, March 27, 1936; see also the story headed “\$675,000 Spent in 9 Minutes by School Board,” *ibid.*, June 10, 1936).

upon and because "the group understands the work before it and works in harmony." "We are acting," says the president, "only in accordance with the modern intelligent trend in governmental procedure which is designed to eliminate the habit of talking to the gallery."⁵² Whether or not one agrees with the viewpoint just quoted, the fact that this *is* the way the Board operates does furnish another reason for its abolition. If the public cannot understand what the Board is doing, how can there be any reliable check on what it does?

The fact that the Board has no discretion in a number of very crucial matters is one more reason in this series of observations explaining why it may well be abolished. The state legislature is really the "supreme school board for Chicago."⁵³ It may so order affairs in Chicago's "independent" school district as to effectively preclude the Board from wisely handling its affairs. And it has done so. In the Otis Act it provided that, instead of having a single executive officer, the Board should do its work through three wholly independent operating officials—superintendent, business manager, and attorney—each answerable to the Board. As a result of this situation, the president of the Board has become the "real center of authority and he is led not infrequently to issue orders unsupported by board action, orders often invading the realm that should be left to the administrative expert."⁵⁴

Whatever of the substance of direct popular participation the people of Chicago think they now have can be adequately safeguarded under the plan proposed through

⁵² *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1935, p. 13.

⁵³ *Bulletin of Federation of Women High School Teachers*, February, 1936, p. 4.

⁵⁴ Charles H. Judd in the address to the Standard Club referred to above (n. 22).

the establishment of an official administrative council to which certain interest and functional groups in the city would be allowed to name representatives, and with which the superintendent could regularly consult.⁵⁵

During his eight years in the office of superintendent the late William J. Bogan relied heavily on an "Advisory Council of Research and Information," composed of citizens and school experts, for guidance in the administration of Chicago's schools. Speaking of the two-hundred-odd members of this group in 1932, he had said: "If their aid could (and had to) be purchased with money, I should have to add at least one million dollars to the school budget."⁵⁶ One of the greatest values of the council, in the opinion of its secretary, was that it kept the heads of Chicago's school system informed at all times of the latest thought and findings of the people in charge of the great research centers in the metropolitan area. Significant contributions were made through the council to the solution of problems ranging all the way from helping the "motor-minded" child to the promotion of a permanent planning commission for education.⁵⁷ Because of its size and the technical aspect of much of its work, the council operated mainly through committees.

If such a body could be made smaller, given a definite status, and made an efficient channel through which interest and functional groups might bring their views on educational policies directly to bear, it could make a signif-

⁵⁵ Mayor Hoan, of Milwaukee, has used this device with great success.

⁵⁶ In an address to the Union League Club, December 16, 1932. See also *School Facts* (Chicago), ed. James E. McDade, February 11, 1931.

⁵⁷ Interview with Edward L. Burchard (December, 1934). See also his article "Practical Workings of the Advisory Council and Civic Assembly," *Chicago Principal's Club Reporter*, November, 1928, pp. 5-6.

icant contribution to the government of education in the community, especially by way of insuring continuity of school policy in the face of transitory political majorities. Parent-teacher associations and federations would, of course, be continued. They would furnish a necessary complement to the administrative council.

Co-ordination of public budgets is naturally one of the principal ends to be sought through the process of integration. It will be discussed more in detail later in the section on finance, but one may note in the present connection that the only way by which it is possible to strike a just balance or proportion between the public revenues allotted to education as compared with other functions is to vest in one representative body power to lay the budgets of all functional divisions in the community side by side and adjudge the askings of each in relation to the askings of all. There are differences of opinion not readily resolved as to whether the schools fare better or worse than other units when they are "independent." Either circumstance is equally undesirable. But those who believe the schools get a larger slice of the tax dollar through enjoying independent status should take care lest they delude themselves. The mere fact that no public authority is empowered to review budgets does not mean that they are not reviewed; what the city council may not be empowered to do, the association of commerce or a self-appointed citizens' committee on public expenditures *will* do.⁵⁸ And who will deny that it is far better for local democracy that this should be done openly rather than covertly?

What has just been said about financial co-ordination

⁵⁸ These organizations would, of course, continue to review public budgets following integration. But they would not be able to pose as the sole guardians of the public's financial welfare.

may with equal cogency be said of political or administrative co-ordination: the absence of official integration does not mean that each legally separate jurisdiction is free to do as it pleases; it simply means that the stage is set for integration under the worst possible auspices—the auspices of spoils politics. The party boss not only steps into the picture but is able to justify himself as a public convenience and necessity. An excerpt from the famous *Autobiography* of Lincoln Steffens may be illustrative of the point:

“Well, about this boss-ship,” I began. “Why must there be a boss when we’ve got a mayor and a council and ——.” “That’s why,” he [Richard Croker] broke in. “It’s because there’s a mayor *and* a council *and* judges *and* a hundred other men to deal with. A government is nothing but a business, and you can’t do business with a lot of officials who check and cross check one another and who come and go, here this year and out the next. A business man wants to do business with one man, and one who is always here to remember and carry out the —— business.”⁵⁹

Taken together with what has been stated in earlier sections of this chapter, these considerations constitute the reasons why Chicago should integrate the schools (and other *ad hoc* agencies like, e.g., the park district) under the regular city government.

SIMPLIFYING SCHOOL GOVERNMENT OUTSIDE CHICAGO

Adoption of the plan of organization suggested for the Region outside Chicago ought to be approved for what it would do to lighten the voting burden of the citizen and to eliminate part of the confusion in which local government is enmeshed, let alone what it would contribute to the more efficient administration of the schools.

The present regional system of school government is

⁵⁹ Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931) p. 236.

directly responsible for requiring the popular election of no less than forty-five hundred public officials and indirectly responsible for helping to perpetuate an arrange-

TABLE 13

ELECTIVE OFFICERS ELIMINATED UNDER PROPOSED
PLAN OF SCHOOL GOVERNMENT

In Illinois:

Directors of 984 elementary-school districts. .	2,952
Members of boards of education of 27 consolidated districts.	135
Members of boards of education of 100 townships and community high-school districts. .	500
Members of boards of education of 9 county non-high-school districts.	27
School trustees of 156 townships.	468
Superintendents of schools for 9 counties. . .	9
State superintendent of public instruction. . .	1

In Indiana:

Trustees of 44 townships*.	44
State superintendent of public instruction. . .	1

In Wisconsin:

Directors of 66 school districts.	198
Members of board of education of 1 high-school district.	3
Members of board of education of 1 city school district (Kenosha).	7
Trustees of 9 townships.	27
Superintendent of schools for one county. . .	1
State superintendent of public instruction. . .	1

Total. 4,374

* With the elimination of their school duties, these officials would have so little to do that their offices would probably be abolished.

ment under which at least a thousand other petty office-holders must be elected. Table 13 discloses the types and distribution of these officials. For the individual Illinois

voter with the lightest burden there are an even dozen public officers in whose election he is expected to take part; for the voter most heavily burdened there are these twelve plus six more. The burden on citizens of Wisconsin and Indiana is not quite so heavy, especially in the latter state; here too, nevertheless, relief is urgently needed. If the people of the Region ever want to do anything in a substantial way about shortening the ballot and cutting down on the number of elections, this is the place, of all places, to begin.

The reduction of election expense that would result from the abolition of school boards, though considerable, would represent only one aspect of the savings that might be achieved through integration. The relative savings that would accrue from getting more service for every tax dollar spent would in the long run be of far greater significance. Most of the school units in the Region today are so small as to be hopelessly inefficient.⁶⁰ Consolidation effected by a county authority would bring drastic cuts in per-pupil yearly costs.

Utilizing the great potential value of the office of county superintendent of schools would constitute another of the great merits of the suggested reorganization. At present this official, paid his basic salary by the state though elected by the voters of the county, furnishes in Illinois the only real evidence in practice of the theory that "education is a function of the state." He might, if granted proper powers, serve the state as a very effective super-

⁶⁰ In the nine regional counties of Illinois during 1933-34 there were 26 districts with an average daily attendance of less than 5 pupils; 180 with attendance between 5 and 9; 289 with attendance between 10 and 15; 130 with attendance between 16 and 20; 65 with attendance between 21 and 25; and, of the 751 districts reporting, 61 with attendance above 26 (*Illinois Statistical Report, 1935*, pp. 250-53).

visor and centralizer, but as it is he is little more than a keeper of records and compiler of reports. The good work that some of them manage to do to alleviate the evils of unrestrained diversity and multiplicity in administrative organization comes, generally speaking, not as a function of their legal authority but of their forceful personalities and admitted professional leadership.⁶¹ The powers and duties of the office are largely inspectional, advisory, and noncoercive save in respect of requiring how reports shall be kept and when they should be submitted. On the surface the list of twenty-two duties and nine powers, emblazoned on pages 12, 13, and 14 of the *School Law of Illinois*,⁶² appears to vest the country superintendent with enviable prestige and prerogatives, but, closely examined, they mark him as a ministerial rather than a discretionary official. There is almost nothing he can do by virtue of his office to correct the defects of the administrative hierarchy he nominally heads.

The ridiculous "pedagogues' war" fought in the summer of 1935 between rival claimants for the Cook County superintendency brought out in high relief the insignificant prestige attaching to this office today.⁶³ Commenting on the stupidity of their controversy, the *Chicago Tribune* stated editorially that their "greatest mistake" lay in calling unfavorable attention to an office costing the public

⁶¹ Cf. Spender D. Parratt, "The Governments of the Metropolitan Areas of Chicago" (University of Chicago dissertation [1932]), pp. 109-10.

⁶² Circular 256 (Springfield: Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1933).

⁶³ Otto F. Aken, then incumbent, refused to retire on the expiration of his term on the ground that Noble J. Puffer, elected to succeed him, had had but three years and six months of teaching experience, whereas the law required four years' experience as a qualification for the office.

some \$40,000 per year, "which changing conditions have left as a vermiform appendix on our school system."⁶⁴

Though this characterization of the office is substantially accurate as of its present legal status, the county superintendency represents great potential utility in a reformed educational system. There is no good reason why it could not do for the schools in the smaller communities outside Chicago what the Chicago superintendent's office does for the schools of the central city. The contrast between the marbled elegance and commodious extent of the Chicago school headquarters at 228 North La Salle Street and the stodgy furnishings and cramped quarters of the Cook County Superintendent's office, relegated to one of the most inaccessible corners on the eleventh floor of the courthouse, suggests however the scope of the changes that need to be made.

There are today at least a dozen states that are using the county as a basic unit;⁶⁵ and it has already been noted that official bodies in each of the regional states have recently recommended this same step for their commonwealths. It is agreed in each case that there must be a county superintendent with real power. But should there be integration with the rest of county government? To have but one elected board of education in (say) Cook County would admittedly be a vast improvement over the system of having almost two hundred. But why should there need to be any repetition of the mistake Chicago has made through trying to work through a wholly independent authority? As William Anderson has said of the plan of having a nonintegrated county board of education:

⁶⁴ On August 10, 1935.

⁶⁵ Maryland, Utah, West Virginia, and Kentucky are the best examples of states not in the South that are using this plan of school organization.

"This would be a complex and poorly coordinated management unless there were some central board or officer to correlate functions and business management."⁶⁶

Regional school administrators, accustomed to working with independent administrative boards and generally contented with the *status quo*, are certain to raise the most vigorous objections to this plan of overhead organization.⁶⁷ Yet, as has been indicated above, it is a fact that the idea of administering the public schools as a branch of local government is well buttressed in practice and that in a country where both education and other local functions have for many years been unusually well managed.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ William Anderson, *Local Government and Finance in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935), p. 321.

⁶⁷ Carleton Washburne, superintendent of the Winnetka school system, dissents vigorously from the position taken by the writer. In an interview with the writer on March 23, 1936, Superintendent Washburne insisted that a city council, or a school committee thereof, would never have or give the time necessary for a thorough consideration of school affairs. He argued that a progressive superintendent would be handicapped in administration if obliged to work under a group responsible for the policies of the rest of local government as well as for those pertaining to the educational system. Intelligent determination of school policy requires, in his estimation, a specialized acquaintance with school problems, and this the layman cannot achieve without devoting a very considerable amount of time to the subject.

⁶⁸ The departmental *deputations* or joint commissions in Prussian cities furnish partial precedent for the type or organization needed in the Region today to render the governmental structure more intelligible while at the same time obtaining the retention of channels for the effective expression of local opinion. These deputations, composed of a "paid magistrate as chairman, one or more unpaid magistrates, several members of the council, and some citizens appointed by the burgo-master . . . considered questions of departmental policy but had no final powers." Sometimes an administrative committee may include as many as twenty members; in other instances it may include as few as five or six. Any person eligible to run for the city council may be named to the deputation. It holds rather frequent sessions and discusses such matters as may be laid before it by its chairman. With respect to matters of routine or detail it may proceed almost independently; items of policy must be ratified by the magistrate. Ad-

The people of the Region cannot secure the full advantage of adopting the county as the basic unit (supplementary to cities over 25,000 population) unless they make the county superintendent of schools accountable directly to the board of county commissioners. If, however, they should insist on having a county board of education "as an intermediate step," they ought to intrust the composition of it to the county commissioners as is proposed in the 1935 *Report* of the Indiana State Committee on Governmental Economy.⁶⁹

INTEGRATION OF EDUCATION WITH STATE GOVERNMENT

Full benefits from reorganizing the government of education on the local level are, in turn, contingent upon the strengthening of the position of educational officials at the capitals of the three regional states. Briefly what needs to be done in all three states is to establish boards of education endowed with power sufficient to require the maintenance of schools measuring up to set standards and to equalize educational opportunity throughout the state. Illinois and Wisconsin are at present two of the half-dozen

mittedly this scheme could not be taken over bodily and fitted into the structure of local government in metropolitan Chicago. That would contemplate corresponding changes in other branches which lie outside the American tradition. But the plan, combining as it does features of the American administrative board and the council committee of an English borough, might be adapted for the special purpose of bridging the gap between the regional schools, long accustomed to their separate position, and municipal corporations and serve a constructive end for both. Allocation of representation on the county administrative council might be made on the basis of geographical districts as well as on the basis of interest and functional groups (see W. B. Munro, *The Government of European Cities* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1927], pp. 351-70, *passim*).

⁶⁹ See p. 439 of the *Report*.

states in the whole Union having no state board of education, and what is called the state board of education in Indiana exercises no really effective control over public education in that state because it is only one of many authorities empowered to deal with school problems.⁷⁰ Instead of there being a board president appointed by the governor, the elective superintendent of public instruction holds that position *ex officio*.

The same official bodies that in all three states have recommended county units for school organization have also insisted that nonpartisan, unsalaried state boards of education be established. The research staff of the present Illinois Educational Commission has recommended a body of "nine lay members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate, for nine-year terms, so staggered that one vacancy occurs in each calendar year."⁷¹ This seems well considered. With respect, however, to the question of what should be done about the executive officer of this board, the recommendation in the *Indiana Report* already cited appears to be the better proposal. The Illinois plan calls for having the state superintendent of public instruction serve as the executive officer of the board pending abolition of his office through constitutional revision. The Indiana committee, apparently resigned to the difficulty of securing constitutional revision, proposed that the state board be empowered to name its own "commissioner of education" and that the superintendent of public instruction head a "Division of Reference and Research" under him, that is to say, he would be permitted to continue more or less as at present his activities as a glorified keeper of

⁷⁰ See the chart on "Present Organization for State Educational Control in Indiana" (*ibid.*, p. 448).

⁷¹ Benner Report, p. 6.

records and compiler of statistical reports.⁷² It would be understood, of course, that all present state educational offices existing by the side of the superintendent of public instruction would be abolished or reconstituted under the authority of the new board.

Reorganization of state school government on the lines outlined would put education in a more protected position than any it has occupied to date. Up to this time education has never been in a position to demand anything from the state. Governors have not treated school legislation as though they were in any real sense of the term responsible for good schools and realized that they would be held to that responsibility. Given a structural setup under which they are explicitly charged with responsibility for educational policies, governors will undoubtedly give school problems their due consideration.

⁷² See the chart on p. 456 of its *Report*. Since the adoption of its Civil Administrative Code in 1917, Illinois has had both an independent, constitutional, elective superintendent of public instruction and a dependent, statutory, appointive director of the Department of Registration and Education. The only educational institutions under the department are the five state normal schools, the natural history, geological and water surveys, and the state museum, but over these it exerts more real control than the superintendent's office does over the rest of the public educational system. Illinois would have done better to relate these offices as Indiana now proposes to relate them.

CHAPTER V

RECONSTRUCTION IN SCHOOL FINANCE

It was natural in the days when the older individualism held undisputed sway in America that the public generally regarded funds expended through taxation as just so much money withdrawn from the total national income. Today, however, the era of blind boycotting of government is passing. With all its hardships, the depression brought in many circles a new appreciation of the fact that it is to government that people are obliged to turn in the last analysis for relief from the hazards of personal insecurity in the modern world. Government is beginning to get a fair break in popular discussion, and there is more than an outside chance that it may in the not-distant future be more generally accepted for what it is—a process through which men are enabled to do in co-operation what they could never do alone or at least could never do effectively.

This new and sounder understanding of the nature of political organization has been accompanied, not unnaturally, by a corresponding new view of public finance. People who formerly insisted without compromise that all public expenditures were lost to the national weal are beginning to perceive that, in the most accurate sense of the term, "taxation" represents just another—and frequently a better—way to spend a part of the national income. It is from this more constructive viewpoint that this chapter attempts to analyze recent trends and emerging problems in school finance in Chicagoland.

SCHOOL COSTS IN THE REGION

The practice of keeping adequate statistical records of the public business is of such short standing that it is impossible to secure comparable data on total educational expenditures for all parts of the metropolitan area for any decennial year earlier than 1930. Table 14 reveals the vol-

TABLE 14*

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION IN
THE CHICAGO REGION, 1935 AND 1930

AREA	EXPENDITURES	
	1935	1930
9 Illinois counties	\$117,421,311	\$111,418,690
3 Indiana counties	6,166,436	8,719,742
1 Wisconsin county	887,328	1,598,409
Total for Region	\$124,475,075	\$121,736,841
Adjusted to 1913 price level	85,844,948	72,462,405

* *Illinois Statistical Report, 1930*, pp. 60-63; *ibid.*, 1935, pp. 50-53 (in order to include only true expenditures for Chicago in 1935, it was necessary to subtract from the figure given, viz., \$102,970,527, an item of \$30,016,996, representing "audited vouchers and pay rolls" for payment of arrearage in salaries in August, 1934); *Indiana Yearbook, 1930*, pp. 977-78; *ibid.*, 1935, pp. 304-15; *Wisconsin Biennial Report of Department of Public Instruction, 1928-30*, pp. 94, 108; *ibid.*, 1932-34, pp. 90 and 102.

ume of these expenditures for the years ending in June of 1930 and 1935.

In order to show the general trend in public-school expenditures during the last quarter-century, it is necessary for one to limit his figures to the regional counties of Illinois. Actual expenditures, expenditures adjusted for variations in the general price level, relative expenditures (adjusted) with the year 1910 taken as base, and expenditures

(actual and adjusted) per child enrolled, are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15
TOTAL EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES IN REGIONAL ILLINOIS
1935, 1930, 1920, AND 1910

Expenditures	1935	1930	1920	1910
Actual*.....	\$117,421,311	\$111,418,690	\$41,317,144	\$21,564,044
Adjusted†.....	80,980,214	66,320,649	21,519,346	22,462,545
Relative‡.....	360.50	295.20	95.80	100.00
Per child enrolled§ (actual)	162.05	150.38	79.85	53.71
Per child enrolled (adjusted).....	111.76	89.50	41.59	55.95

* *Illinois Statistical Reports, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1935, Tables 6, 17, 17, and 15, respectively.*

† Federal Reserve Bank of New York, general price level indices with 1913 as base year: for 1910, 96; for 1920, 192; for 1930, 168; for 1935, 145.

‡ Base year, 1910, equals 100.

§ *Illinois Statistical Reports, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1935, Tables 1, 5, 5, and 4, respectively.*

FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION: CHICAGO¹

The Chicago school district ranks in law as an independent municipal corporation, but its independence in managing its financial affairs is sharply limited at several points. The state constitution sets some basic limits within which school revenues, as well as other public moneys, must be raised and the limits beyond which the Chicago Board of Education may not incur indebtedness. The General Assembly fixes the outline of the administrative structure and establishes a system of funds through which it must transact its business; this same body, acting usually under some measure of executive leadership, places limitations on the tax rates for these various funds. It likewise votes whatever appropriations Illinois gives as state aid,

¹ The writer is indebted to William J. Haggerty for some of the information on Chicago school finance presented in this chapter.

whether for general purposes or for the care of handicapped children, and all that Chicago can do is to hope that it will be generous. Closer home there are other authorities denying to the schools in fact that freedom and independence they have in theory. They will be examined at some length later; here it must suffice to observe that the political bosses of the city government, on the one hand, and the bosses of big business, on the other, exert a very significant force on the financial actions of the members of Chicago's Board of Education.²

Of the two general limitations placed upon the Chicago school district by the Illinois constitution, the one that cramps it more severely is the one that prevents it from taxing net incomes. Space cannot be taken here to analyze the problem of revising the state's revenue system beyond what has already been said in an earlier section. It can and must be reiterated, however, that without repealing the uniformity clause in the present constitution there seems to be no hope for a real application of the principle of taxation according to ability. The second broad limitation in the state's organic act, that limiting indebtedness to 5 per cent of assessed valuations, has presented no special difficulties and will not unless and until the Chicago school district should be consolidated with the city itself. In that event the consolidated corporation should be permitted a debt limit equal to that of both units before the merger.

The restrictions laid upon the discretionary financing of Chicago's schools by the state legislature constitute some of the best possible arguments in favor of metropolitan home rule. One has already been noted indirectly; it is the deplorable division of executive responsibility within the Chicago school system by which the Board of Educa-

² They exert great pressure at Springfield too.

tion loses the possibility of handling its business affairs in accordance with the best principles of public management and educational administration. It should not require any extended proof to make the point that the superintendent of schools ought to be the kingpin of any sound educational budget system, and none will be attempted. But Chicago is required to forego the advantages of such a system because the Illinois legislature has prescribed that the business manager, one of three co-ordinate executives, superintendent and attorney being the other two, shall prepare this "annual report" for the Board. The rather natural result of this trifurcation of executive responsibility has been that the president of the Board has become the principal authority in the drafting of the budget and has frequently so far forgotten that due sense of humility which ought to mark the layman venturing in a technical field that he has ruled on matters that by all proprieties should have been left to the decision of the superintendent. Public hearings on the school budget are required by the law, and during the last five years there has been a good attendance at these hearings, without, however, achieving any significant alterations in the schedules the Board has agreed upon.³

As indicated above, the Chicago school system has been required by the General Assembly of the state to draft its budget upon the basis of mutually exclusive funds. The two oldest of these, both of which date back before 1910, are the Educational and the Building funds. The Free Text Book Fund was established in 1921, as were also the Playground and Teachers' Pension. A Bond Redemption

³ Twenty-seven civic organizations sent representatives to the 1936 budget hearing on January 6 (*Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, January, 1936, p. 3).

and Interest Fund, the Bond Service Fund, and the Special Funds Income have all been established within the last eight years.

Of the several funds, the first-named is and always has been the most important because it comprises all expenditures for instruction and operation of the schools. The Building Fund includes payments for new buildings and capital outlay whether for school sites, permanent improvements, or general repairs.⁴ These two and the Bond Redemption and Interest Fund accounted for nearly 93 per cent of the expenditures listed by the Board in its 1938 budget. Use of this elaborate fund system not only complicates the financial procedures of the Board needlessly but has frequently been a positive source of distress. The account which has suffered most seriously in recent years has been the Educational Fund. In December, 1933, and the early months of 1934 the Board of Education sponsored at Springfield a bill to transfer twenty cents of the fifty-eight-cent Building Fund tax rate to the fund more seriously distressed.⁵ Though this measure was never passed, some relief has since been obtained through pegging the levy for the Educational Fund at increased figures.

The funds plan was designed to maintain the finances of the Board in such a way that due regard would be had to all divisions within the system, but what it does in effect is to deny to the Board that indispensable boon of good administration—a large sphere of discretion. At the time of the establishment of these funds it was the teach-

⁴ Lyle H. Wolf, "Budget Procedure," *Chicago Principal's Club Reporter*, September-October, 1934, pp. 7-8.

⁵ *Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, January, 1934, p. 2.

ers' organizations who were most insistent that no interchange should be permitted. They were afraid that their own interests would be affected adversely were such power to be vested in the Board. Of late years they have seen that such provisions can act as a boomerang.⁶

With adoption by the Board of Education, action on the Chicago school budget is to all interests and purposes completed. Passage of the appropriation bill must, according to the school law, be certified to the City Council,⁷ but this does not mean that that body has power to review the items comprising it. When the Board sends to the Council its annual resolution on the tax levies needed for the several school funds, it does not pray for conciliar approval of its budget; it does not need that approval. The resolution takes the form of an "order, direction, and demand" which the Council is legally bound to ratify. The city fathers may temporize in their consideration of the school tax levy—and have done so⁸—but it is accepted by their finance committee that the Board has power by mandamus to compel passage of its levy without modification, and that it has had this power ever since the enactment of the Otis law in 1917.⁹

⁶ For the first six months of 1930 the Board needed \$28,000,000 for Educational Fund liabilities, yet it could not use \$9,000,000 in cash then in the Building Fund (cf. S. E. Leland, "Waste through Multiplicity of Governmental Units," p. 16 [mimeographed]).

⁷ *School Law of Illinois* (Circular 234 [Springfield: Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1935]), p. 82.

⁸ See Board of Education, *Proceedings*, January 17, 1935, p. 951. The last notable instance occurred in 1931, when Cermak and the Democrats controlled the Council but while Thompson appointees still dominated the Board of Education (*ibid.*, 1931, pp. 108-10).

⁹ Interview with Mr. John Richert, chief of staff for the finance committee of the Chicago Council, who has been in a strategic position to observe what is pertinent with respect to the practical interrelations between the two bodies

The Otis law makes the Chicago school district a "body politic and corporate" and provides that no power vested in its "board of education, or in any of its officers, agents or employees, shall be exercised by the city Council."¹⁰ In numerous places it gives the Board power "to request the city council" to do a number of things like issuing school bonds or school tax-anticipation warrants; it generally vitalizes these provisions with phrases of a kind calculated to make the action of the Council follow automatically. The Board is under the necessity of informing the Council what it desires, but the clause "whose duty thereupon it shall be" leaves the Council without discretion in acting upon the Board's request.¹¹ Though members of the City Council were much concerned twenty years ago that new appointees to the Board of Education should acknowledge

during the last quarter-century. For twelve years (1909-21) he held the strategic post of chairman of the finance committee of the Council and he has served since in the capacity indicated above. Thus he was in an exceedingly critical position at the time of the passage of the Otis law in 1917. He gave it as his explicit opinion (1) that the Council and, in particular, the finance committee understood that before the passage of that act they did have the power to reduce the Board's budget but that they then lost it and have not since regained the prerogative; (2) that the power of the Council to consent to and enact the educational levy is purely ministerial and is so understood; (3) that the Board could mandamus the Council if the latter proved refractory. According to this veteran of Chicago politics, the Council has never done more than delay the passage of the school budget since 1917; it has never as of legal right secured a reduction in the Board's askings.

The Otis law is similarly understood in the city comptroller's office. Counter-signatures by the comptroller of checks drawn by the Board of Education are purely ministerial actions according to information given the writer by the office manager.

¹⁰ *School Law of Illinois* (Springfield, 1935), sec. 138.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, sec. 132. See Newton Edwards, *The Courts and the Public Schools* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933). According to Edwards, California seems to be the only state whose courts have taken the position that contributing to the maintenance of schools is a "legitimate municipal function."

that the Council possessed power to review the budget of the Board, the corporation counsel held in an opinion in 1916 that the financial records of the Board were not open to examination by the aldermen.¹² The fact that in the year following the delivery of this opinion the Illinois legislature enacted an amendment to the school law which by general assent made the Chicago Board even more independent of the Council than it had been prior to that time constitutes a further reason for accepting the view that school budgets in Chicago are not now subject to review by that body.

The closest it is possible to come to a legal answer to the question of the degree of financial independence now enjoyed by the Board of Education is an opinion by the corporation counsel of the city of Chicago five years after enactment of the Otis law growing out of an inquiry by the chairman of the City Council's Committee on Schools, Fire, and Civil Service relative to control by the Council over the affairs of the Board. Declaring that such control was "exceedingly limited," he wrote that "practically speaking, the only powers the City Council has . . . are the following:

(1) To approve appointments, submitted by the mayor, for members of the Board of Education; (2) To levy school taxes, upon the demand and under the direction of such Board of Education; (3) To issue anticipation warrants for school purposes, *whenever requested by the Board of Education*; (4) To sell real estate held in trust for schools, *when so requested by the Board of Education*."¹³

Beyond this, the issue of the Board's complete fiscal independence may never be determined. The City Council

¹² *Opinions of the Corporation Counsel, City of Chicago, 1916*, p. 70.

¹³ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1920, to April 15, 1923, pp. 752-56, *passim*. Opinion dated November 23, 1922. Italics those of the counsel, here and in the paragraphs following in this section.

might some day desire to bring a test case in the courts, but the odds are against yielding to any such desire. Cermak was deterred from pushing matters to a show-down in 1932 by the fact that legal separation is a very useful fiction when municipal corporations operate under a 5 per cent debt limit; the same consideration presents itself today. Without accepting the theory of the Board of Education's fiscal independence from the city corporate, there is no legal basis supporting the debt structure that the two authorities have authorized.¹⁴

Absence of official public review does not mean, however, that the budgets of the Board of Education go unscrutinized by any group save the members of the Board itself. Precisely because there is no formally constituted authority charged with placing all public budgets in the city and county side by side and examining each not only in terms of its own items but in relation to the fiscal needs revealed in all the others, wealthy taxpayers assign the task to themselves in the form of "citizens' committees on public expenditures." Thus Chicago gets indirectly and covertly the co-ordination of fiscal policies which cities like New York, Detroit, Baltimore, Buffalo, and Minneapolis get directly and openly.¹⁵ There can be no doubt which method represents the better way to conduct the public business. Today Chicagoans have neither a way of knowing that each and all the services of government are considered on their relative merits nor any proper and

¹⁴ Bulletin 145 (March, 1936) of the Civic Federation and Bureau of Public Efficiency, devoted to "Debts, Taxes and Assessments," reveals that, with a bonded debt on January 1, 1936, of \$122,837,000, the city of Chicago had exceeded its constitutional debt limit of \$113,727,907. The Board of Education, operating under its separate debt limit of the same amount, had a bonded debt of \$41,935,000, including \$22,500 bonds of annexed districts (*ibid.*, p. 3).

¹⁵ Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government* (New York, 1929), p. 587.

convenient channel through which to express their views effectively with respect to *all* the tax-levying authorities reaching into their pocketbooks.

This is the crux of the whole problem of integration and consolidation of local governing bodies. The people of Chicago have no greater need than that of establishing somewhere within the framework of their governmental system the power of reviewing the budgets of all bodies having authority to levy taxes. Many important recommendations with respect to administrative areas and overhead organization have been made in the course of this study, but in a sense they are all contingent on this indispensable requirement regarding financial organization. It is immediately more urgent than any other recommendation made in these pages because it is needed to pave the way and partly to force the way for many of the others.

The smallest change which could be made in the relationship of the Board to the Council which would yet guarantee a real improvement over the present situation would be a simple transfer from the former to the latter body of the power to levy all taxes and borrow all money needed for the schools. This would assimilate the Chicago Board of Education in the scope of its authority to the statutory committee of the London County Council having control of the public schools of that metropolitan community. Education throughout the whole of this densely populated county is controlled by this committee; and to it "all powers except the power of raising a rate or borrowing money stand referred."¹⁶ The system has given general satisfaction in England.

Reviewing the recent history of relationships between

¹⁶ Herman Finer, *English Local Government* (London: Methuen, 1933), p. 483.

municipalities and school districts, a special committee of the New York assembly declared in 1928:

There seems to be less friction than formerly in those cities where the administration has definite control over the educational budget, and also in those municipalities where there is complete separation. There still exists an unsatisfactory condition in those municipalities where the educational authorities have complete or practically complete control of the budget and the city authorities are held responsible for the tax rate. . . . We recommend that the division of authority for the control of educational expenditures and the levy of school taxes be eliminated either through making the board of education entirely responsible to the taxpayers, or through placing the entire responsibility in the hands of the municipal officials.¹⁷

For all taxing bodies having the same area as the city itself, power of review should be vested in the Council; for all others in Cook County power should correspondingly be lodged with the county commissioners. This would carry to their proper consummation arrangements of which today only faint signs are visible.¹⁸

FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION: THE REGION

Within the limits of tax rates, indebtedness, and revenue sources fixed by the state government either constitutionally or statutorily, school directors and boards of education in regional Illinois and Wisconsin are generally free agents in the handling of school finance within their districts. The only one of the regional states to establish a

¹⁷ New York State Legislature, *Report of the Special Joint Committee on Taxation and Expenditure*, as quoted in Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research, "Fiscal Relationships between City and School Authorities" (Report No. 120 [Detroit, 1931]), pp. 10-11 (mimeographed).

¹⁸ E.g., the Council's Committee on Schools, Fire, and Civil Service conducted an examination of the finances of the Board of Education from September 15, 1926, to January 14, 1927, and found that a "deficit" of \$13,500,000 was actually a surplus of \$5,175,000 (see City Council, *Journal of Proceedings*, January 19, 1927, pp. 5135-36).

thoroughgoing system of review of local budgets has been Indiana. Basically the Indiana plan consists of vesting in a special state board, the tax commission, power to pass finally on budgets adopted by county authorities.¹⁹ In the absence of any other scheme this method has something to commend it. But the establishment of budgetary co-ordination in regional Illinois and Wisconsin might much better follow the plan proposed for Chicago and Cook County. The essence of this plan is that power of review is vested in the policy-making branch of the regular municipal or county government subject to the direct control of the people of the locality. Given a chance to focus their attention on one body of their own choosing, the citizens will probably achieve budget co-ordination just as effective as that which might be imposed from the state capital and far more palatable to them. But, supplementing this, there ought also to be the general consolidation and simplification of the whole structure of local government recommended in previous chapters. In the city of Kenosha, for instance, the school district and the municipality are regarded as one corporation in so far as financial liability is concerned. But the fact that there is a separately elected board of education confuses the issue and blurs the responsibility of the city council for all public expenditures.

TRENDS IN EXPENDITURES

There are three broad categories in which it is convenient to analyze trends in educational expenditures: (1) volume of school costs separately considered; (2) relative size of school costs compared to total governmental costs;

¹⁹ Frank G. Bates, "State Control of Local Finance in Indiana" in *Essays on the Law and Practice of Governmental Administration*, eds. C. G. Haines and Marshall E. Dimock (Baltimore, 1935), pp. 259-63.

and (3) allocation of money within the school budget itself. It would be ideal to describe these trends for the Region as a whole and for all school districts included in it, but data are not available. It must suffice, therefore, to give as complete a picture as the records permit.

The volume of school expenditures for regional Illinois for 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1935, stated both absolutely and relatively, has already been given, likewise the volume for the entire Region for 1930 and 1935. Figures for the Chicago school district alone reveal a similar development (see Table 16). From a total in 1910 of approximately \$24,000,000, school costs, as shown by observations at five-year intervals, dropped to \$17,000,000 in 1915 and then rose rapidly until in 1930 they reached a peak of nearly \$79,000,000.²⁰ They have receded since to the point where, for 1935, expenditures totaled approximately \$73,000,000.

Compared to total governmental cost payments, payments for public education stand in about the same position in Chicago today as they did at the beginning of the quarter-century under investigation. In 1910, 25.8 per cent of all current expenditures went for the support of the schools; at the present time the corresponding percentage, as indicated by *Financial Statistics of Cities* for 1936, is 26.4. There are no parallel figures for other cities in the Region, or, naturally, for the Region as a whole.²¹

Among the many ratios within the school budget itself,

²⁰ The pronounced reduction in 1915 and the marked increase in 1925 may be partially explained by a sharp curtailment of building operations in the first year and the launching of a huge building program in the second (cf. Strayer Report, I, 139).

²¹ For New York City the comparable percentages in 1910 and 1936 were 25.7 and 26.6.

none is more critical than that of the amount spent for instruction as compared with the total expenditure. This is so because it reveals with considerable clarity the extent to which the school system is being operated with an eye to "first things first," and because also it is the single most

TABLE 16
CITY POPULATION AND TOTAL EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES IN
CHICAGO BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS SINCE 1910

YEAR	POPULATION		EXPENDITURES			
	Actual	Relative	Actual	Relative	Adjusted*	Relative
1910 . . .	2,196,238	100	\$23,659,623†	100	\$24,645,441	100
1915 . . .	2,464,189	112	16,766,114	71	16,766,114	68
1920 . . .	2,766,815	126	31,101,147	131	16,198,514	66
1925 . . .	3,096,409	141	56,107,027	237	33,004,134	134
1930 . . .	3,376,438	154	78,887,071	333	46,956,590	191
1935 . . .	3,258,518‡	148	72,953,531	308	50,312,780	206

* Adjustment eliminates effect of changes in general price level as revealed in index compiled by Federal Reserve Bank of New York. With 1913 serving as the base year the indices for the years listed are, in order: 96, 100, 192, 170, 168, and 145.

† Strayer Report I, 139, and *Illinois Statistical Report, 1935*, p. 50.

‡ Special Chicago census of 1934.

important datum upon which the teaching staff may justifiably base claims for salary increases.²²

Table 17 reveals clearly the fact that in respect of this ratio the local Board of Education stands condemned in its trusteeship for the welfare of the public schools of Chicago and it discloses additionally the caliber of school control obtaining in some of the suburban districts. For Chicago the low ranking is not of short standing. The Strayer staff emphasized six years ago that instruction was "claim-

²² Cf. Nelson B. Henry, "The 1934 School Budget," a radio talk over Station WCFL, December 16, 1933; mimeographed by Federation of Women High School Teachers.

TABLE 17*

CURRENT EXPENSES PER STUDENT IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE
IN FULL-TIME DAY SCHOOLS IN SELECTED CITIES, 1934-35

CITY	TOTAL YEARLY CURRENT EX- PENSE†	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPENDED FOR					
		General Control‡	Instruc- tion	Opera- tion of Plant	Main- tenance of Plant	Co-ordi- nate Ac- tivities and Auxiliary Agencies	Fixed Charges
Chicago (24)\$.....	\$ 94.72	3.2	70.3	13.4	4.6	3.1	5.4
New York (2).....	136.64	2.7	80.3	5.8	2.0	1.7	7.5
Philadelphia (13)...	99.92	3.9	79.3	8.3	2.8	2.4	3.3
Detroit (28).....	90.34	2.9	77.4	12.8	3.5	3.1	0.3
Los Angeles (9)...	117.33	3.4	81.1	9.1	2.8	3.2	0.4
Gary (57).....	67.51	3.8	75.5	13.1	4.7	1.3	1.6
Average of 73 cities over 100,000.....	101.17	3.0	78.1	9.3	3.4	2.4	3.8
Kenosha.....	81.19	2.9	76.4	14.7	3.0	2.0	1.0
Aurora (East).....	70.27	2.6	75.4	13.6	5.8	0.9	1.7
Average of 80 cities 30,- 000-99,999.....	81.02	3.5	77.1	11.5	3.3	2.4	2.2
Chicago Heights..	48.73	6.0	69.9	19.3	2.4	1.6	0.8
Average of 80 cities 10,- 000-29,999.....	65.10	4.0	75.6	11.9	3.5	2.9	2.1
Downers Grove...	61.82	7.0	66.4	16.5	2.1	4.1	3.9
Average of 79 cities 2,500- 9,999.....	69.25	5.8	71.2	12.8	3.8	4.3	2.1
Average of 312 cities.....	96.18	3.1	77.8	9.6	3.4	2.5	3.6

* Lulu Mae Comstock, *Per Capita Costs in City Schools, 1934-35* (U.S. Office of Education Pamphlet 69 [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936]), pp. 8-17.

† None of the following items are included: cost of night schools, summer schools, part-time or continuation schools; expenditures for the care of children in special institutions; all costs of debt service, including interest; all capital outlay and items of depreciation in property values.

‡ Moehlman's standards for these six basic percentages are as follows: general control, 5; instruction, 75; operation of plant, 12; maintenance of plant, 5; co-ordinate activities and auxiliary agencies, 2; and fixed charges, 1. Toothaker's standards are: general control, 4; instruction, 74; operation of plant, 11; maintenance of plant, 4; co-ordinate activities and auxiliary agencies, 5; and fixed charges, 2 (National Education Association, *Research Bulletin*, XI, No. 3, 67).

§ Figures in parentheses represent rank of city in current annual expenditures among 73 cities reporting.

ing a significantly lower percentage of appropriations for current running expenses than is commonly allocated in large cities," that costs for instruction per pupil were lower in Chicago than in most large cities, and that they were substantially lower than in New York City. It declared, furthermore, as the Citizens' Schools Committee (mainly through Professor Nelson B. Henry) has been doing since, that expenditures for plant operation and maintenance claim significantly larger percentages than are commonly allocated in other large cities.²³ In view of the persistence of such ratios in the 1937 and 1938 budgets, one is forced to the conclusion that it is not by accident that Chicago's Board shows oversolicitude for those branches in which, though most of its employees are under a type of civil service code, it is possible to distribute patronage.²⁴ It fits naturally into this scheme of things that the salary of an engineer-custodian, for example, generally exceeds that of every person in the individual school building, not always excepting the principal.²⁵

Another ratio of importance in analyzing the excellence of school-board control is that of general control. The principal items under this head are business administration and educational administration. As might be expected from what has already been discovered, Chicago appropriations

²³ Cf. Strayer Report, V, 59-61; *Chicago's Schools*, October, 1934, p. 1; *ibid.*, February-March, 1936.

²⁴ A Board-sponsored "Parents' Public School Association" designed to counterbalance the militant Save Our Schools Committee (now Citizens' Schools Committee) come to the same conclusion after defending the Board's "economy" program for a few months in 1933. The association petered out before the year ended (see Save Our Schools Committee news release, December, 1933).

²⁵ Allowance must be made for the fact that the relatively high salaries of the engineer-custodians are partially due to their strength in collective bargaining through their unions.

reveal an unusual consideration for the business group. Urged by the Strayer staff to reduce general administrative expenses, Chicago has effected some reductions in this field in the past few years, but the more significant fact is the ratio of business and educational expenses within the classification. In 1931 business administration required 21 per cent again as much as educational administration; after decreases had been effected for both, the corresponding percentage in 1935 stood at 114.²⁶ Incidentally there is a special phase of this development that serves uniquely to indicate not only how the relative size of the business staff has been expanding but how more and more the president of the Board has been encroaching on the field generally assigned to the superintendent. Chicago's Board chairman is one of the very few heads of school boards in large cities for whose office special appropriations are made. The president of a board deciding only on general policies would not need to devote more than a nominal amount of time to his duties and would hardly require an office with a staff. But appropriations for the office of the head of Chicago's Board amounted to \$11,056 in 1931, and, in the years of "courageous retrenchment" since, they have *increased* until, for 1938, they stood at \$18,000, made up largely of salaries for a staff of five.²⁷

There is a regional counterpart to the circumstance just noted in Chicago. It is to be found in the case of the township treasurers of Illinois and the township trustees of

²⁶ These figures have been computed from the budgets for the two years. The budget for 1938 is not broken down to permit of a similar comparison.

²⁷ See Gifford Ernest's report of a study of practices of boards of education in nine large cities (Detroit, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Baltimore, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Chicago) in *Chicago Daily News*, April 4, 1936, pp. 1 and 7. See also Board of Education, *Proceedings*, January 12, 1938, p. 629.

Indiana. The small district may, as William Anderson has said,²⁸ "save" money for its members by "underpaying and overworking the teacher, giving the children poorer instruction, shortening the school term as much as possible and failing to provide a high school education for local youth," yet the township treasurer never omits to demand his own compensation and expenses. It required \$134,879 in 1935 to pay the salaries and incidental expenses of the township treasurers and trustees of schools in Cook County outside Chicago for distributing \$1,292,239. In Du Page County it required \$11,698 to pay for distributing \$213,159; in Grundy, \$2,774 to distribute \$51,921. The records in the other regional counties tell a similar story.²⁹ The county totals show that it frequently costs one dollar to distribute ten dollars in the township distributive fund. When one consults the figures for the individual township, he finds that in some instances a treasurer gets a dollar in compensation and "expenses" for every dollar he distributes in this pleasant "public service." By way of indicating concisely allocations of funds to basic categories in the budgets of recent years, figures are given in Table 18 showing the distribution of appropriations among ten big items.

The most significant ratio disclosed of those not yet discussed pertains to expenditures for debt service. Table 19 shows how the trend toward devoting an increasing percentage of total expenditures for debt service has grown and declined during the past generation. In 1915 only 0.3 per cent of all expenditures went for this item; in 1920, 1.5 per cent; in 1925, 1.7 per cent. In 1930, however, owing

²⁸ William Anderson, *Local Government and Finance in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935).

²⁹ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1935*, Table 18, pp. 66-67.

mainly to the difficulties attendant upon the invalid assessment of 1927, the percentage jumped to 8.2, and in 1935 it stood at the alarming figure of 28.2. The budget for 1936, as revealed in Table 18, disclosed a marked recession from this high point—namely, a drop to 18.9 per cent.

TABLE 18

ANALYSIS OF CHICAGO SCHOOL APPROPRIATIONS, 1935 AND 1936*

ITEM	1936		1935	
	Amount	Per-centage	Amount	Per-centage
Administration.....	\$ 2,139,978	3.02	\$ 1,795,606	2.52
Instruction.....	32,078,148	45.27	31,204,882	43.76
Co-ordinate activities.....	185,917	0.26	181,553	0.26
Auxiliary agencies.....	2,707,947	3.82	1,400,545	1.96
Operation of plant.....	6,186,432	8.73	6,050,369	8.49
Maintenance of plant.....	5,115,891	7.22	3,817,955	5.35
Fixed charges.....	2,444,078	3.45	2,275,759	3.20
Capital outlay.....	6,559,073	9.26	4,424,342	6.20
Debt service.....	13,399,916	18.91	20,121,407	28.22
Special funds income.....	35,253	0.05	26,900	0.04
Total.....	\$ 70,852,633	100.00	\$ 71,299,318	100.00
For unpaid liabilities incurred during prior years†.....	\$165,042,155	.....	\$188,010,858	.....
Grand total.....	\$235,894,788	.....	\$259,310,176	.....

* These budgets of 1935 and 1936 were the last ones broken down in a way to permit of such analysis.

† Supporting these appropriations are uncollected tax levies of previous years; the 1935 budget, e.g., listed resources of this variety in the amount of \$169,182,176.

There is little assurance, however, that the Board is embarked on a program that will in the near future restore the ratios of the early years of the century.

The incurrence of indebtedness in such proportions as those with which Chicago has been afflicted has the effect of strangling and stifling any school system so involved.

Comparable figures are not available for other suburbs in the Region, but the difficulties of operating the schools while loaded down by preferred claims of lenders are by no means confined to Chicago. The 1927 assessment was invalidated throughout Cook County, and there are scores of districts within its boundaries that are struggling along under a terrific burden of debt, incurred not only as a

TABLE 19*
ALLOCATION IN PERCENTAGES OF ANNUAL SCHOOL
EXPENDITURES SINCE 1915

Year	Current Expense	Debt Service	Capital Outlay	Total Expenditures
1915.....	80.0	0.3	19.7	100
1920.....	85.4	1.5	13.1	100
1925.....	75.7	1.7	22.6	100
1930.....	71.1	8.2	20.7	100
1935†.....	65.6	28.2	6.2	100
1936†.....	71.8	18.9	9.3	100
1938†.....	.....	6.5	.....	100

* *Strayer Report*, I, 139-40, and budgets for 1935, 1936, and 1938.

† Appropriations, as listed in the budgets for these years, have been used in place of expenditures. Changes in budgetary classification since 1936 make it impossible to supply percentages on current expense and capital outlay for 1938; indeed they cast doubt on the accuracy of the percentage indicated for debt service.

result of tax payments postponed until reassessment had been completed but also as a consequence of serious taxpayers' strikes.³⁰

It is interesting in view of the inordinate concern for budget reduction professed by the McCahey Board to take a look at the record of actual expenditures as reported by the Board itself to the superintendent of public instruction. Table 20 demonstrates conclusively that it has failed

³⁰ See the bulletins circulated in the fall of 1934 by the Cook County Superintendent of Schools for the purpose of convincing the state legislature of the desperate plight of many districts.

to achieve anything like the \$10,000,000 reduction in expenditures about which it shouted so loudly in the summer of 1933, this despite the fact that it did effect a severe curtailment in teacher's salaries. The \$74,328,714 which the

TABLE 20
EXPENDITURES OF THE CHICAGO SCHOOL DISTRICT
DURING THE DEPRESSION

YEAR	INSTRUCTION			ALL CURRENT EXPENSES			TOTAL		
	Actual*	Per- cent- age†	Rela- tive‡	Actual	Per- cent- age	Rela- tive	Actual	Per- cent- age	Rela- tive
1930...	\$38,446,929	48.4	100	\$57,914,377	76.8	100	\$75,375,422	100	100
1931...	41,157,734	49.5	107	64,251,084	77.3	111	83,076,948§	100	110
1932...	39,565,802	59.7	103	53,154,038	87.7	100	66,287,607	100	88
1933...	32,743,520	55.1	83	49,265,503	82.9	85	59,406,997	100	79
1934...	29,543,066	48.2	77	43,705,713	71.4	75	61,218,696	100	81
1935||	31,204,882	43.8	81	46,753,569	65.6	81	71,299,318	100	95
1936||	32,078,148	45.3	83	50,893,644	71.8	88	70,852,633	100	94

* See *Illinois Statistical Report* for years included. The figures are in each case for the years ending on June 30.

† These are percentages of total expenditures for the year.

‡ Expenditures in 1930 are taken as a base.

§ From the figure given, \$108,076,948, I have subtracted \$25,000,000, representing "anticipation warrants" issued in former years.

|| These figures represent appropriations rather than expenditures.

Board appropriated in January, 1938, was only about one million dollars less than it spent during the year ending June 30, 1930.

GRAFT IN SCHOOL FINANCE

Discussion of trends in school expenditures would not be complete without raising the question of graft in school finance. In a well-documented doctoral dissertation on "Techniques of Political Graft"³¹ V. O. Key, Jr., has

³¹ University of Chicago dissertation (1934), p. 414.

shown how methods in this field have by and large "reached a highly refined state, making detection much more difficult than it was thirty or forty years ago." Graft in school finance is no exception to the rule: it has tended more and more in recent years to be subtle, indirect, "legal," and "honest" with the result that, though general appearances frequently suggest something amiss, it is exceedingly difficult to isolate the act of fraud or to spot the grafter.

The nadir in disinterested trusteeship of the Chicago schools during the last quarter-century appears to have been reached in the years of the second Thompson mayoral administration from 1919 to 1923. Following a period of more than two hectic years (June, 1917—October, 1919) in which two groups had each claimed to be the lawfully constituted Board of Education, following the "vindication" of Thompson at the polls in 1919 and following the serving of jail sentences by several members of the Board who had conspired to circumvent a judgment of the circuit court in favor of the then legal superintendent Chadsey, there came a series of raids upon the school system that "for boldness and unabashed cupidity has few parallels in the written record of public education in the United States."³² Notwithstanding the crude methods of the looters, it proved difficult to bring them to bar. One grand jury admitted gross irregularities but failed to vote a single indictment; a second voted true bills against some "small fry" but let the "big fellows" go; a third, laboring under great handicaps, indicted a former president, vice-president, and attorney of the Board plus some forty po-

³² George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928), p. 259.

litical favorites and associates.³³ Public revulsion from the revelations of this series of scandals was one of the prime factors leading to the civic cleanup of 1923, when William E. Dever replaced Thompson in the mayor's chair.

Five years after the 1922 disclosures of the shameless traffic in school sites and school equipment perpetrated by the Thompson Board, the public was beguiled by the slogan "America First" into putting "Big Bill" back in office for a third term. Once again a new Board abused the schools for personal ends, but this time power rather than pelf—if such a distinction may be allowed—was the objective. The crude "steals" of the early post-war era have not been repeated—as far as the record now shows.

Because the board that dealt so ruthlessly with the Chicago educational system in 1933 had among its more prominent members two men engaged in the coal business, much has been said in some quarters recently about the economic complexion of that body. Militant defenders of the schools have intimated that "where there is coal, there is bound to be fire," and that it is the intention of some members of the Board to "fuel all the people all the time," but they have not yet been able to establish any charges of fraud in the courts.³⁴ Out of all the rumors current since 1933 respecting malfeasance and graft in the management of lunchrooms, in the purchase of athletic equipment, in the procurement of supplies for the great Lane High School, in the irregularities of textbook selection, in the handling of retirement funds, and in the apparently excessive costs

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-63. See also Mrs. William S. Hefferan, "Pertinent Facts in the History of the Administration of Chicago's Public Schools," *Bulletin of the Woman's City Club of Chicago*, January, 1923, pp. 211-17.

³⁴ *Lightnin'*, ed. Elmer L. Williams (4416 Winchester Ave., Chicago), March, 1935.

of operation and maintenance of school plant—out of all these and similar reports and charges new indictments may some day come. For the present one must, officially, suspend judgment.³⁵

SOURCES OF SCHOOL REVENUE

Everywhere within the Chicago Region the principal sources of financial support for public education during the past quarter-century have been local property taxes and appropriations for state aid and equalization. With respect both to major and to minor sources, however, there are sufficient differences among the revenue systems of the three regional states to warrant separate consideration of each scheme. Table 21 represents an attempt to classify generally present sources of school receipts in Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. The broadest generalizations disclosed by the table are that dependence upon the general property tax ranged, prior to recent changes in revenue systems, all the way from 65.9 per cent in Kenosha County, Wisconsin, to 93.8 per cent in Lake County, Illinois, the median county securing 90.2 per cent of its school revenues from this source and Cook receiving 91.6 per cent.

Indiana is the only regional state that has made significant changes in her revenue system within the past few years. The General Assembly of 1933 revised her laws on school support in such a manner that state contributions for current local educational expenditures have increased from 10 to 30 per cent approximately.³⁶ A gross income tax, an excise tax, and a tax on intangibles constitute the

³⁵ See the series of attacks on the Kelly-McCahey Board in the *Chicago Daily News*, extending throughout the spring and summer of 1936.

³⁶ *Report of the Indiana State Committee on Governmental Economy* (Indianapolis, 1935), pp. 440-41.

three new sources of school receipts in the Hoosier state. Table 22 shows that for 1934-35, the last year for which statistics are available and the second under the new plan,

TABLE 21*

DISTRIBUTION BY PERCENTAGE OF SOME MAJOR SOURCES OF SCHOOL-DISTRICT REVENUES IN COUNTIES OF THE CHICAGO REGION, 1931

County	General Property Tax	Subventions and Grants	Earnings of General Departments	Income Tax
Cook.....	91.6	6.2	0.9	.....
Du Page.....	88.6	7.2	3.9	.....
Grundy.....	85.3	6.3	8.0	.....
Kane.....	90.5	5.2	3.9	.....
Kankakee.....	85.3	7.7	6.4	.....
Kendall.....	83.6	5.5	10.5†	.....
Lake.....	93.8	4.1	1.8	.....
McHenry.....	90.7	6.6	2.2	.....
Will.....	90.2	6.6	2.8	.....
Illinois (whole) ..	89.1	7.1	2.8	.....
Lake.....	91.0	6.0	1.6	.....
La Porte.....	89.8	4.9	4.3	.....
Porter.....	92.4	3.6	3.3	.....
Indiana (whole) ..	85.3	7.9	5.1	.....
Kenosha County†....	65.9	31.3	2.2	.....
Cities and villages§	62.3	4.5	2.1	13.8
Wisconsin (whole)	53.1	35.6	10.9†	.....
Cities and vil- lages§.....	61.8	4.0	3.8	7.9

* U.S. Census, *Financial Statistics of State and Local Governments, 1932* (Washington, 1935); Table 1 for each of the several states was used as the basis. Figures for Illinois and Indiana are for 1931; those for Wisconsin are for 1932. They are the latest comparable data available.

† The author is at a loss to explain these atypical figures.

‡ This category omits city school systems.

§ Cities and villages are included in order to give some indication of state aid to city schools.

32.5 per cent of the money for all current school expenditures came from the state treasury. The bulk of this came from the gross income tax. Other funds from which the regional schools of Indiana derived considerable support

were the excise and school-relief funds. None of the three counties received any money under the label of what is known as "school relief."³⁷

TABLE 22*

SOURCES OF STATE SCHOOL AID IN INDIANA, 1934-35

Item	Amount	Percentage
Total school expenditures.....	\$72,692,188	.....
Current expenditures.....	42,885,898	100.0
Total state aid.....	13,923,307	32.5
From gross income tax.....	7,842,930	18.3
From excise fund.....	1,863,202	4.3
From tax on intangibles.....	863,751	2.0
From common-school fund.....	1,020,601	2.4
From school-relief fund.....	1,963,448	4.6
For vocational aid.....	369,375	0.9
From local taxation.....	33,886,438	79.0

* *Indiana Yearbook, 1935*, p. 300.

What regional Wisconsin has achieved in the direction of increasing state aid for her public schools has already been indicated in Table 21. The percentage of receipts for county schools coming from state subventions and grants in 1932 was 31.3, but the state superintendent of public instruction has insisted that the program of expanding state aid must not stop until revenues from this source equal "at least one-half of the costs of elementary and secondary education."³⁸ State aid to city schools is more difficult to indicate because of the manner in which statistics are given, no distinction being made in the volume *Financial Statistics of States* between city receipts for educational and for other governmental purposes. In 1932, however, the cities and villages of Kenosha County secured

³⁷ *Indiana Yearbook, 1934*, pp. 423 ff.

³⁸ Wisconsin, *Biennial Report of the Department of Public Instruction* (Madison, 1934), p. 5.

18.3 per cent of their total funds from the state treasury, either in the form of subventions and grants or in the form of sharings of state income-tax money. The weakest spot in the Wisconsin system seems to be the financing of her *ad hoc* high-school districts. This does not, however, seem to be an especially vital issue in the regional segment of the state.³⁹ All told, the finest aspect of Wisconsin's financial structure, from the standpoint of a democratic tax system, is her use of the net income tax.

Of the segments of the metropolitan area in the three states involved, regional Illinois stands in greatest need of having its revenue system revised. For, in addition to the defects in its methods of handling expenditures, it suffers from even more serious faults in its basis for raising revenue and for distribution of the burden between state and locality.

In its most critical phases the fiscal problem of education in Illinois is no different from the fiscal problem of local government generally. The fatal flaw in the method of raising revenue, whether for schools or for some other function, derives from placing reliance upon tax bases which represent no income or taxpaying ability. It is impossible to give extended consideration to the point here, but that is what is wrong fundamentally with the property tax as almost the exclusive local source of revenue and with the sales taxes (regardless of the name attached to them) which constitute the main source from which Illinois, ever since the abolition of the state property tax a few years ago, secures funds for paying its share of the school burden.

³⁹ See *Report of the Wisconsin Interim Legislative Committee on Education* (Madison, 1931), chaps. vi and vii; see also John Callahan, "The Financial Situation in Wisconsin High School Districts" (Madison, 1926).

All the difficulties in levying, assessment, extension, and collection which plague other governmental units relying on the general property tax plague the school districts of the Region. Cook County districts have been harassed by them, especially during the last ten years following the invalidation of the 1927 assessment. Delinquency in payment, owing both to the confusion engendered by the order to reassess and to the dislocation caused by the depression, has become so common that the boards of education have been obliged for several years to include in their budgets items for "loss and cost in collection" that represent a marked loss of real income for their school systems.⁴⁰ On March 11, 1938, the taxpayers of Cook County were in arrears on taxes for the years 1928-37 in the amount of almost \$419,000,000. With percentages of collections for 1928 standing at 90.3, for 1929 at 85.7, for 1930 at 81.1, for 1931 at 79.4, for 1932 at 74.2, for 1933 at 73.7, for 1934 at 75.8, for 1935 at 76.5, for 1936 at 78.1, and for 1937 at 38.8, it may easily be appreciated that the schools have had hard sledding along with all other local units.⁴¹

In recognition of this continuing delinquency the General Assembly voted for the Chicago School Board in 1936 a "pegged levy" of \$49,000,000 for its educational fund, \$6,000,00 more than it had in 1935. It is a significant commentary upon the present system of school finance that, whereas many had counted upon the Board to devote this extra money to a restoration of some of the vital services curtailed in 1933, the Board felt itself obliged

⁴⁰ Cf. Chicago Board of Education, *Proceedings*, January 12, 1938, pp. 629. For loss and cost of collections the Chicago Board this year "appropriated" \$6,209,273.

⁴¹ Chicago Civic Federation and Bureau of Public Efficiency, Bulletin 160-A: "Debts, Taxes and Assessments," June, 1938, pp. 1 and 6.

to expend it through "shrinking the estimates of back taxes receivable."⁴² What would otherwise have been at the close of 1935 a book surplus was thus transformed into a deficit, and Chicago was given a new demonstration of the fact that within the limits of the general property tax, on which in 1936 she relied for 89 per cent of her school revenue, there is no solution for the problem of educational finance.⁴³ The Board was given a pegged levy of \$45,000,-000 for its "educational fund" in 1938.

Outside the central city of the Region, employment of the general property tax entails all the disadvantages characteristic of its use in Chicago plus the handicap of being applied to geographical areas small in size and subject to severe and sudden alterations in shape.⁴⁴ Though the people living in these areas engage in the more or less unified economic life of the metropolis, for the purposes of school government they are divided up in such a confusing manner that it is impossible to achieve even an approach to an equal division of the burden of educating the youth of the Region. Variations in taxable wealth per child enrolled are so great that, as shown by Table 23, the richest district in Cook County in 1934 had almost fifty-nine times the resources of the poorest district.

Under these conditions it is out of the question that there should be equality of educational opportunity in the Region. The tax structure being undemocratic—meaning

⁴² See an editorial entitled, "The School Board Digs a Hole," *Chicago Daily News*, January 20, 1936.

⁴³ According to the schedule of estimated current revenues listed in the 1936 budget, Chicago secured from the state treasury in that year 7.7 per cent of her total appropriations. New York City has for some years secured approximately one-third of her school funds from the state (cf. Strayer Report, I, 225).

⁴⁴ For a list of studies emphasizing the inequality and impracticability of Illinois' system of school finance see the Selected Bibliography.

that it is not built on the principle of ability to pay—the school system maintained by this tax structure likewise denies equally good opportunities to school children in all parts of the Region. Some districts possess such immense wealth that after seven years of depression they are free of debt, have extra money in the bank, and sometimes neglect even to adopt a tax levy.⁴⁵ Contrariwise, however, relatively many more districts have taxed and borrowed

TABLE 23*

VARIATIONS IN TAXABLE WEALTH BEHIND EACH CHILD ENROLLED
IN COOK COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICTS, AS SHOWN
BY ASSESSED VALUATIONS FOR 1934

Measure†	All Districts (192)	Elementary- School Districts (175)	High-School Districts (17)
Poorest district	\$ 906	\$ 906	\$ 7,966
Lower quartile	4,874	4,799	9,673
Median	8,513	7,724	10,680
Upper quartile	13,017	13,389	13,972
Richest district	53,437	53,437	20,631

* Data secured from auditor on staff of Cook County Superintendent of Schools.

† Chicago's per-pupil valuation was \$4,352. Enrolments for 1934-35 have been used for all computations.

to the limit without succeeding in raising sufficient funds to keep their schools open.⁴⁶ Griffenhagen and Associates reported in 1932 the case of one village in Cook County

⁴⁵ The *Report of the Advisory Staff to the Illinois Educational Commission*, referred to above as the Benner Report, declares on p. 14 that in 1933-34 in the whole of Illinois there were 274 districts so well buttressed by reserves that they levied no tax whatever, while at the other end of the scale there were a few scattering instances of tax rates above the \$1.50 limit.

⁴⁶ Generally these districts suffer, among other disadvantages, the handicap of having a much larger percentage of their population in the school-child age than do the wealthy areas (see report on a study by Chicago Regional Planning Association in *Chicago Tribune*, March 22, 1935, p. 1).

“partitioned” into seven different educational areas, four elementary and three secondary, having total tax rates ranging all the way from 44 cents to \$2.92 per \$100 of assessed valuation. Leland discovered that in 1933 the minimum school tax rate in Cook County was 19 cents, the maximum \$3.19.⁴⁷

A mimeographed bulletin prepared by the Cook County superintendent in the spring of 1935 gave eloquent testimony on the financial embarrassment of some of the districts then in the most dire distress. Here are a few instances of hardship:

DISTRICT

- | | |
|------|--|
| 43 | 5 months in arrears |
| 68½ | Now paying November, 1932, salaries |
| 71 | Now paying part cash and part warrants. Behind to
to April, 1933 |
| 80 | \$37,000 in arrears on teachers' salaries |
| 81 | \$8,000 in arrears on teachers' salaries |
| 85 | \$33,000 in arrears on teachers' salaries |
| 95 | All 1934 tax warrants issued |
| 129 | 2 years behind in salary |
| 152½ | Paid for 2 years in tax warrants and N.S.F. checks
and very little cash |
| 155 | Paid \$25 per month cash, balance in tax warrants dis-
counted at 80 per cent |
| 194 | School closed 3 months, now operating on donations |
| 143 | School closed 12/14/34. Reopened 2/4/35 in hope
of donations and relief |
| 146 | School closed. Reopened on donations |

Two special revenue problems grow out of the dual system itself. Unable to control the taxes that are levied upon them for high-school support, the school directors of many elementary districts deliberately starve their

⁴⁷ S. E. Leland, *The Fiscal Problem of Education in Illinois* (Chicago, 1935), p. 25.

grade schools in order that their total school tax burden shall not be in excess of what they are willing or able to pay. The purpose for which these special high-school districts were established—namely, to provide secondary-school facilities in the shortest possible time—has now been accomplished and they should be consolidated with the elementary districts. Otherwise these latter units will be placed at a permanent disadvantage. The second special problem concerns the revenue system of the high-school districts themselves. It is the normal thing for them to secure no small part of their funds in the form of tuition payments for county non-high-school districts. During the depression years, however, while the high-school districts have had to find some means of keeping their schools open, many non-high-school districts have been sending their children to adjacent high schools without making full or prompt payments. Thus during trying times one section of the metropolitan area may be obliged to “carry” another section. Several regional high-school districts have been unwilling creditors for thousands of dollars in recent years.⁴⁸

The property tax as a source of school revenue could, of course, be improved both in general administration and by enlarging the geographical base to which it is applied. How the first of these improvements may be effected has been considered at length in the latest report of the Illinois Tax Commission.⁴⁹ How the latter may be achieved is another facet of the knotty political problem that has already been discussed from the angle of more efficient administrative areas and that of a simplified govern-

⁴⁸ L. R. Grimm, “Certain Criteria of Financial Conditions of School Districts” (Springfield, 1935), p. 4 (mimeographed).

⁴⁹ *Fifteenth Annual Report* (Springfield, 1935).

mental structure for the whole Region.⁵⁰ The commercial, industrial, and professional "barons" of the wealthy suburbs have no stomach for merging with Chicago nor do they care to consolidate with any of their "poor relations." They prefer the system of "earning" their living on the industry of the grimy city and spending it where they are exempt from paying the bill for the social services urban-industrialism requires.⁵¹

Chicago for her part would be glad to add the taxpaying resources of these rich communities to her own assessment rolls, but, quite understandably, she is not interested in annexing to herself a host of communities that, while greatly increasing her liabilities, would make no corresponding addition to her assets. But the poverty-stricken communities themselves have objections to consolidation. Poor they undoubtedly are, but they have their pride. If they had their way, the state would be made to assume most of their financial burdens, and they would keep their independence.

Sale of bonds and sale or rental of school lands are other local sources of school revenue in addition to taxes. Both are of considerable importance in the Chicago Region, not only because of the potential revenues they represent but also because of the discretion required in their use.

It has already been shown that the Chicago Board has resorted to borrowing proportionably far more within recent years than it did in the early years of the period taken

⁵⁰ See Chaps. iv and vi above.

⁵¹ Louis Wirth, "Social Action and Social Conflict in the Chicago Region," Social Science Divisional Lecture at the University of Chicago, May 7, 1935; see also V. O. Key, Jr., "The Unholy Alliance," *Survey Graphic*, October, 1934, pp. 473-76.

TABLE 24*
TREND OF SCHOOL INDEBTEDNESS IN ILLINOIS SECTION
OF CHICAGO REGION, 1910-35

AREA	INDEBTEDNESS EXISTING ON JUNE 30			
	1935	1930	1920	1910
Cook:†				
Funded.....	\$ 69,163,550†	\$ 20,451,300§	\$2,973,785	\$1,388,350
Floating.....	91,405,494||	75,879,201¶	.....	.....
Total.....	\$160,569,044	\$ 96,330,501	\$2,973,785	\$1,388,350
Du Page:				
Funded.....	\$ 4,290,475	\$ 4,121,600	\$ 409,950	\$ 96,500
Floating.....	139,485	1,036,772	.....	.....
Total.....	\$ 4,429,960	\$ 5,158,372	\$ 409,950	\$ 96,500
Grundy:				
Funded.....	\$ 148,300	\$ 233,550	\$ 157,855	\$ 1,500
Floating.....	18,000	21,921	.....	.....
Total.....	\$ 166,300	\$ 255,471	\$ 157,855	\$ 1,500
Kane:				
Funded.....	\$ 1,757,800	\$ 2,115,381	\$ 607,300	\$ 266,800
Floating.....	275,133	871,343	.....	.....
Total.....	\$ 2,032,933	\$ 2,986,725	\$ 607,300	\$ 266,800
Kankakee:				
Funded.....	\$ 369,698	\$ 496,600	\$ 105,737	\$ 47,837
Floating.....	38,660	79,869	.....	.....
Total.....	\$ 408,358	\$ 576,469	\$ 105,737	\$ 47,837
Kendall:				
Funded.....	\$ 137,000	\$ 159,000	\$ 19,480	\$ 3,000
Floating.....	9,150	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	\$ 146,150	\$ 159,000	\$ 19,480	\$ 3,000

* *Illinois Statistical Report, 1910*, Table 10, pp. 818-19; *ibid.*, 1920, Table 14, pp. 52-53; *ibid.*, 1930, Table 14, p. 52-53; *ibid.*, 1935, Table 12, pp. 42-43.

† On June 30, 1937, the funded debt for Chicago was \$38,598,000 and for the rest of Cook County, \$28,128,900; their respective floating debts were \$69,482,825 and \$4,752,032 (see *ibid.*, 1937, Table 12, p. 41).

‡ For Chicago alone, \$41,937,500; for Cook outside Chicago, \$27,226,050.

§ For Chicago alone, \$58,000; for Cook outside Chicago, \$20,393,300.

|| For Chicago alone, \$82,327,830; for Cook outside Chicago, \$9,077,664.

¶ For Chicago alone, \$62,210,000; for Cook outside Chicago, \$13,669,201.

TABLE 24—*Continued*

AREA	INDEBTEDNESS EXISTING ON JUNE 30			
	1935	1930	1920	1910
Lake:				
Funded.....	\$ 2,683,900	\$ 3,077,950	\$ 602,000	\$ 149,300
Floating.....	370,864	960,015	.....	.....
Total.....	\$ 3,054,764	\$ 4,037,965	\$ 602,000	\$ 149,300
McHenry:				
Funded.....	\$ 511,063	\$ 856,002	\$ 59,800	\$ 66,550
Floating.....	18,010	51,532	.....	.....
Total.....	\$ 529,073	\$ 907,534	\$ 59,800	\$ 66,550
Will:				
Funded.....	\$ 2,802,400	\$ 2,410,800	\$ 710,550	\$ 143,715
Floating.....	195,893	115,684	.....	.....
Total.....	\$ 2,998,293	\$ 2,526,484	\$ 710,550	\$ 143,715
9 Counties:				
Funded.....	\$ 81,864,186	\$ 33,922,183	\$5,646,457	\$2,163,552
Floating.....	92,470,689	79,016,337	.....	.....
Total.....	\$174,334,875	\$112,938,520	\$5,646,457	\$2,163,552

for this study.⁵² Table 24 reveals that regional Illinois as a whole has experienced the same trend. With huge shrinkages in assessed valuations, this has meant in some cases that district bonded indebtedness has exceeded the 5 per cent constitutional debt limit.

But funded indebtedness by no means tells the whole story of borrowing by regional school districts today. Leaving out of consideration the forced loans exacted from teachers in the form of arrearage in salary payments, the record of borrowing to be complete must include in-

⁵² The unprecedented delays in tax collection have, of course, been responsible for much of this.

debtedness represented by teachers' orders and tax-anticipation warrants. Employment of these devices for emergency purposes is entirely proper. The regularity and the volume in which they have been issued in Cook County since the invalidation of the assessment rolls in 1927 indicate, however, an excessive reliance upon them. The necessity for having resort to tax-anticipation warrants, teachers' orders, and other forms of short-term indebtedness could be eliminated in great measure by more vigorous tax collection, reduction of costs for operation and maintenance of plant, curtailment of expenditures for "business management," and, as long as it remains, more efficient assessment and administration of the general property tax. Table 24 discloses the trend of school indebtedness in the Illinois section of the Chicago Region during the past quarter-century. The huge increase in bonded indebtedness in Cook County between 1930 and 1935 is due principally to the borrowing of funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in 1934 to pay the back salaries of Chicago's schoolteachers. The bonds representing this loan are secured by a mortgage on Chicago's school lands. Of the floating indebtedness, the overwhelming portion is in the form of tax-anticipation warrants.⁵³

As for securing educational revenue through sale and rental of school land, experience apparently dictates that sale outright is distinctly preferable to leasing. Reference has already been made to the disproportionately large costs entailed in the management of township funds by township treasurers. Whether the record of the Chicago Board is generally better or worse, it is impossible to say,

⁵³ Collection of the taxes on which warrants for some of the early years of the depression were based has been so slow and meager that it may be necessary to resort to bond issues to pay them (cf. *Chicago Daily News*, February 2, 1937).

but the Board has demonstrated unmistakably that it is not competent to manage unused school property in a fashion to guarantee good returns to the school district.⁵⁴ The Strayer staff appropriately recommended that the Board dispose of most of its land as the real estate market improves.⁵⁵

Given the best possible use of these local revenues, however, regional Illinois, like regional Indiana and Wisconsin, will still need help from the state treasury. The advisory staff of the second Horner Educational Commission declares that the minimum standard with which the state ought to be satisfied should guarantee "approximately \$60 per elementary pupil and \$83 per high school pupil in districts where it is possible to maintain full sized classes, and proportionately larger amounts where classes . . . are necessarily smaller."⁵⁶ This would represent a real advance over the present law, based on a \$41 guaranty per elementary pupil; it seems to be a well-considered proposal practicable even with the present tax structure of the state. It would improve materially her position in the ranking of the states by percentage of educational revenue received from the state treasury; at the time the depression broke she stood forty-second on the list defraying from her own coffers only 5.9 per cent of the cost of school support.⁵⁷

There are apparently only two alternatives to the adop-

⁵⁴ See the pamphlet *The School Fund Lease Crisis*, issued in October, 1933, by the Citizens' Association of Chicago. See also articles on the school leases in the *Chicago Daily News*, May 6 and September 19, 1935, and February 17, 1936.

⁵⁵ Strayer Report, I, 80.

⁵⁶ Benner Report, pp. 15-17.

⁵⁷ Citizens' Save Our Schools Committee, news release, March 17, 1934, based on *Report of the National Advisory Committee on Education*.

tion of some such expanded scheme of state aid as recommended in the Benner Report. Either some schools will be obliged to close or the federal government will step in. During 1933-34 the national government furnished emergency aid to forty districts in the state, "and the need is scarcely less at the present time."⁵⁸ Uncle Sam could step in again on a local basis in Illinois as he has done and will continue to do on a state-wide basis in some of the poorer states.

METROPOLITAN REGIONS AS AREAS OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

It was taken as axiomatic in the chapter on administrative areas that good public management cannot be established in the Chicago Region on the basis of coinciding areas of administration and of financial support. There are several reasons for accepting this proposition as basic. Most of them relate to changes that have occurred within the last generation in the nature of wealth and income in the United States. Among the factors upon which this study relies to make the point that the county should be adopted as the basic area for the immediate administration of education, the most potent are the perfection of the motorcar and the improvement of regional highways. It has not only become possible to discard old and minute school jurisdictions but impracticable *not* to do so. The limits of enlargement beyond which these areas of administration must not be extended are, on the other hand, definitely set by these areas of convenient daily personal contact.

This is not the case with regard to areas of financial support. The best territory for the immediate administration

⁵⁸ Benner Report, p. 13.

of a function will likely be much smaller than the best jurisdiction for raising revenue to support that function, and the latter will bear very little relation to the circle within which it is possible to have easy daily contact. The essential point is that in both cases that area should be used which best fits the business in hand. The threads of government ramify so widely today that, save for activities like street-cleaning and lighting, which may be denominated municipal housekeeping, it is practically impossible to classify any services as "purely local functions." It is only in the case of these few exceptions that sound public management would recommend employing the same areas for administration and support. For raising the revenues to maintain all the other services, government must accept areas whose boundaries delimit spheres of unified economic activity.

How, then, does this principle work when applied to the financing of public education in metropolitan Chicago? The answer must be written in terms of the place of the metropolitan area in the national economy and of a not-too-abrupt reconstruction of the antiquated system to which the people of Chicagoland have become accustomed. The factors cited as dictating larger areas of administration are part of a whole set which have wrought even more startling changes in the field of commerce and industry. They have so altered the distribution of wealth and income in America that contemporary reliance upon the general property tax as the major source of public revenue in a system designed to apply the principle of exacting money in proportion to a citizen's ability to pay has become a tragic travesty upon equality and justice. The concentration of industrial wealth in the United States today is enormous. Seventy per cent of all wage workers in the

country are concentrated in two hundred counties. More than half of all industrial production is carried on in thirty-three industrial areas, and fully one-quarter of all manufacturing is now done in five areas. Ownership of wealth is even more highly concentrated than physical situs; Berle and Means have described it succinctly in the statement that two hundred corporations own 38 per cent of all the business wealth in the United States.⁵⁹

The most significant consequences of these changes for purposes of public finance are these: wealth, particularly that form of it which represents income (and hence tax-paying ability), has changed its form from tangible things to intangible; ownership of intangibles, being represented by securities, may not only be easily concentrated in a few persons but may also be easily shifted in place so that legal situs may be and frequently is in a city or state far removed from that of the tangible wealth on which fundamentally they rest. Income is concentrated where securities are concentrated; it is not confined to the place or places where the goods or services giving rise to it are produced. To put the matter more pertinently, income is disproportionately concentrated in metropolitan areas (or scattered segments thereof); it is not spread equally over the territory supporting the trade of an area nor is it distributed proportionately where earned. Even within a rather highly unified economy like that of the Chicago Metropolitan Region, income is not "paid" anywhere near the spot where it is "earned."

This is the conclusion of the whole matter. If the people of Chicagoland want to give effect today to the principle

⁵⁹ This description of changes in the nature of American wealth has been summarized from a lecture by Dr. Clarence Heer, "Areas of Administration *vs.* Areas of Financial Support," reported in the *Bulletin of the Society for Social Research, University of Chicago*, June, 1936, pp. 1, 5-6.

of taxing according to ability to pay (and there is every reason to believe that they do), they shall have to take as their tax base, not tangible property alone, or maybe even predominantly; they must have recourse instead to those forms of wealth—intangibles—which actually do represent income, i.e., taxpaying ability. But because there is no dependable identity between the place where income is “earned” and the place where it is “paid,” they cannot arbitrarily take the Region as the geographical base for their reconstructed revenue system.⁶⁰ Metropolitan Chicago is but an important segment of a vaster free-trade area embracing the whole United States. The people who constitute its citizenry can, therefore, solve this problem of making their taxing system conform under changed conditions to their long-cherished principles only by co-operating with the rest of the nation. And, what is more, they will have to agree that the full volume of revenue paid as income taxes in their metropolitan center cannot rightly be regarded as belonging entirely to their community. They must recognize that every community included within their market has a claim upon that money. In sum it amounts to this: Chicagoland must reconstruct its revenue system, but reconstruction cannot proceed upon the assumption that it has no responsibility save for financing its own public services and those only.⁶¹ To

⁶⁰ As Dr. Heer has observed, an income tax would not work well using local bases because if Chicago employed the plan and Evanston did not, many people living in Evanston but “earning” or “getting” their living in Chicago would evade the law. It would not work satisfactorily using states as bases because some would, like Florida, attempt to increase their population by promising not to enact such a law. To be satisfactory, income taxes must be universal and uniform.

⁶¹ This question is dealt with from the standpoint of national interest in the *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education* (Washington, 1938), pp. 20-40 *passim*.

achieve their purpose properly, income taxes must be collected nationally and the receipts redistributed on the basis of need. The Chicago Region must pay for its own schools, but it must, in addition, pay part of the cost of maintaining public education throughout the hinterland on which it lives.⁶²

THE NEED FOR NEW SOURCES OF REVENUE

It has been assumed thus far in this analysis of the reconstruction of school finance that expenditures will generally continue in their present volume. But, as was demonstrated in the chapter on the size and nature of the regional attendance load, it is not likely that school costs will remain on their present level; they will probably climb. It is plain, therefore, that the people of the Region will have to find new and more reliable sources for educational revenues.

That these additional revenues can be found and that they need not entail increased burdens for harassed property-owners there is not the slightest doubt.⁶³ A. M. Hillhouse, of the technical staff of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, has described in a recent booklet forty new sources of municipal revenue.⁶⁴ They include twelve new types of "state-collected, locally shared taxes," four varieties of "county, state and federal grants-in-aid," and twenty-four new "locally collected taxes."

More important than getting away from the property tax, however, is getting settled on a tax that really rests

⁶² See the advertisement of the *New York Sun* in the *Chicago Daily News* of April 3, 1936, as a classic instance of distorting the fundamental facts of American economic life described above.

⁶³ S. E. Leland, "The Fiscal Problem of Education in Illinois," p. 34.

⁶⁴ A. M. Hillhouse, *New Sources of Municipal Revenue* (Chicago: Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1935).

on ability to pay. A democratic educational system can safely be built on a democratic tax structure. The personal income tax respects this principle better than any other levy.⁶⁵ The people of the Region must insist on placing more and more of the burden of public support on this foundation. England derives 39.9 per cent of all her governmental revenues from the personal income tax; France, 20.1 per cent; Sweden, 54.3 per cent; Switzerland, 49.5 per cent; and the United States, only 5.3 per cent.⁶⁶ Can the Chicago Region, as a vital part of the American democracy, afford to be less democratic in its system of public finance than these democracies of western Europe?

⁶⁵ Illinois Tax Commission, *Fifteenth Annual Report*, p. 339.

⁶⁶ Paul Studenski, "Modern Fiscal Systems, Their Characteristics and Trends of Development," *Annals*, January, 1936, p. 29. Most of the figures are based on data for 1931 and 1932.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

For the operation and maintenance of its public schools the Chicago Region employs today from twenty-five to twenty-seven thousand people, including teachers, administrators, clerks, custodians, and a myriad variety of technical and professional employees.¹ To recruit this huge staff on the basis of merit, to assign employees to the tasks for which they are best fitted, to pay them adequately and punctually, to promote them equitably, to give them certainty of tenure yet safeguard the best interests of the schools, to retire them in security before they lose their efficiency, and to watch their professional organization so that they may have the benefits of co-operation among themselves while not working at cross-purposes with other laboring groups inside of government or out—these in outline are the main problems in school personnel administration.

Data are not available on the total number of persons employed by the schools of Chicagoland at the beginning of the last quarter-century, but from the records extant on regional Illinois it is possible to secure a fairly close

¹ This figure is an estimate. Most of these people are teachers; the remaining number fall into the other categories. Estimates for this latter group have been computed on the basis of Chicago's ratio of nonacademic to academic employees. There were on the pay roll of the Board of Education, during 1937, 19 persons under the Law Department, 3,595 under the Business Department, and 13,309 in the Educational Department. Noninstructional employees, therefore, compromised approximately 21.3 per cent of the total staff.

approximation of it. The rosters of the nine Illinois regional counties in 1910 included a total of 9,763 teachers, and the Illinois segment of the Region then enrolled 93 per cent of the children attending school. It may be estimated accordingly that the teaching staff of the entire Region in 1910 numbered approximately 10,500. It has grown in size in the last twenty-five years more than two-fold. The latest comparable records available indicate that the instructional staff of the regional school system numbers at present 23,000 people, 21,022 of them in regional Illinois.²

Statistics are not available on the sex composition of the entire regional teaching staff in 1910. Figures for all Illinois suggest that women then held about 81.5 per cent of the teaching positions.³ Compared to this situation, the distribution of men and women in school employment in the Region at present shows an even greater unbalance. Statistics for Cook County point to a distribution today of 84.4 per cent women and 15.6 per cent men. When the data for secondary schools alone are isolated, men and women teachers in Cook County stand in the ratio of 40 to 60.⁴ With the 50-50 ratio recommended for high schools by the Strayer staff accepted as "ideal," metropolitan Chicago evidently still has some distance to go in securing a "perfect" distribution between the sexes.⁵

² *Illinois School Report, 1910*. Table 16; *Illinois Statistical Report, 1937*, Table 7.

³ *Illinois School Report, 1910*, p. 16.

⁴ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1935*, Tables 7 and 9.

⁵ Strayer Report, V, 129-30. No city has surpassed Chicago in giving women a chance to rise high in the teaching profession. Ella Flagg Young was the first woman to reach a position of great influence in school work in America. In 1911, two years after she became superintendent of the Chicago system, she was honored by being the first woman elected to the presidency of the National Education Association. Of five assistant superintendents in Chicago in 1934, two were women.

The marital status of women teachers has become a subject of earnest controversy on several occasions during the last quarter-century. Information on the percentage of women instructors married is not available either for 1910 or for the present year, but it is certain from the data secured for the Strayer survey seven years ago that the figure stands at approximately 25 for the Chicago schools.⁶ What it is for the suburbs no one knows. It is an earnest of good personnel administration that in new rules adopted for the educational department of the Board of Education in 1933 the problem of leaves of absence for maternity has been given special and fairly generous recognition.⁷ Suburban school systems could well pattern after the central city in this respect. One of the benefits that would accrue from the enlarging of areas would be that the advantages inherent in a system of maternity leaves could be spread more widely throughout the Region.

With respect to age, no figures are obtainable describing the composition of the regional staff twenty-five years ago nor are there any today. The only facts at hand are those disclosed in the Strayer Report: the median age of the educational employees of the Chicago Board in 1929 was thirty-eight years, the interquartile range extending from thirty to forty-eight. Only one factor mars the location of so large a portion of Chicago's staff within this ideal range of age. This is the distribution of more than half the high-school principalships within the age interval of fifty-five to sixty-five. The Board stands in need of revis-

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 256.

⁷ Board of Education, *Rules* (Chicago: Board of Education Printing Plant, February 23, 1933), Art. 7, sec. 7. One hundred and twenty-seven leaves were granted during 1936.

ing its promotional system so that these important leaders may be recruited from a somewhat lower age level.⁸

Neither for 1910 nor for the present are there satisfactory records available on the teaching experience possessed by the teachers of the Chicago Region. It may be noted merely by way of suggestion that the median teacher in the suburban schools of Cook County has at present ten years' professional experience to her credit.⁹

Residence, the last general characteristic treated in this introductory section, does not appear to have figured as any special bone of contention or even matter of interest in the early years of the period, but it has been the excuse for recurrent desultory squabbles within the last decade and especially during the depression. Irrespective of the administrative jurisdiction in which they teach, teachers, in selecting their place of residence, recognize the supercity as one great whole. They may work in the schools of near-by suburbs and live in Chicago, or they may teach in a Chicago school located near the corporate outskirts and reside in one of the adjacent communities. Why should they be expected to do otherwise? Socially, economically, and culturally the people of the vast Metropolitan Region live a common life. It is only politically that they are fragmentalized, and, save for the influence of historical heritage, the political barriers that separate them are absolutely artificial.

To such extremes have "buy-at-home" campaigns been carried, however, that even here particularism has raised its head. Misguided zealots have from time to time

⁸ Strayer Report, I, 249-51. The most serious defect in the present system lies in the requirement that one may not be appointed to a high-school principalship who has not first served as an elementary principal.

⁹ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1935, Table 10a.*

brought pressure on the Chicago Board of Education to limit teaching appointments to bona fide residents of Chicago, and six years ago the then president of the Board was persuaded to support such a proposition.¹⁰ Several times it has been proposed in the General Assembly that a bill be enacted limiting employment in the Chicago public-school system to residents of the city corporate. Random samplings of the *Chicago Public School Directory* for 1930–31, the last one containing teachers' addresses, indicated that estimates of from two to three thousand Chicago teachers living outside the city are probably correct. Some of these "aliens" even come from Indiana suburbs to teach in Chicago. What of it? The Cook County Superintendent of Schools estimates that fully one-half of the teachers in near-by suburban schools commute from Chicago daily. What would it profit anybody to make these instructors change residences? Why should there be a special rule for public servants when other citizens enjoy complete liberty in the selection of their place of residence—unless public servants are not citizens?¹¹ Teachers living and working in the metropolitan area should not be under the necessity, real or fancied, of giving false addresses in order to create the appearance of residing in the political jurisdiction in which they work. One nonresident principal felt obliged several years ago to rent a room in Chicago and instal a telephone; this is political fractionalism reduced to an absurdity.

INDUCTION INTO SCHOOL SERVICE

On the basis of the methods by which they enter the service, school employees in Greater Chicago divide them-

¹⁰ See Board of Education, *Proceedings, 1931–32*, p. 689.

¹¹ *Chicago Daily News* (editorial), April 3, 1935.

selves into four general groups. The instructional staff, by far the largest, is recruited upon the basis of academic training and teaching experience evidence of which is offered formally through certificates issued either by a local district itself as in the case of the Chicago Board of Education, by a country superintendent of schools, or by the state superintendent of public instruction. Clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, skilled labor, and some types of professional and technical workers enter the employ of the Chicago school district on the basis of competitive examinations administered for the Board of Education free of charge by the Chicago Civil Service Commission. City and district make appointments from common lists of eligibles. In addition to these groups, there are two further classes, filled mainly according to considerations of spoils politics. One of these is the category of noncompetitive unskilled labor where, through the device of "temporary appointments," the intent of civil service protection is often flatly circumvented. The other is that top class of professional and administrative positions where the appointing authorities are allowed a free hand in selection; most of them are to be found in the legal and business departments of the school system.¹² Except for noting the fact that, because of frequent nonobservance of the spirit if not of the letter of the civil service code, the instructional staff tends to regard all these other classes as more or less "political" in character,¹³ attention is confined in this chapter to problems involved in the recruitment of academic personnel.

¹² These recur regularly in the *Proceedings* of the Board of Education in reports from the business manager giving the names of temporary appointments "made in accordance with Civil Service requirements" (see, e.g., the list of some 200 reported in the *Proceedings* for March 9, 1932, pp. 1369-70).

¹³ The recent case of a clerk in the office of the Chicago Board charged with accepting \$1,000 from a man on the understanding that she would see that he

Throughout the Region the main institutions for the training of elementary-school teachers are city and state normal schools; for the training of high-school instructors the principal places of preparation are the public and private colleges and universities. These are the sources from which the schools of metropolitan Chicago recruit the overwhelming majority of their staff. More and more the procedure has been formalized during the last quarter-century. The normal schools have consolidated their positions emphatically on the primary level, while on the secondary level departments, schools, and colleges of education have developed to the point where they have become monarchs of the whole field, teaching and administration.

The twentieth century has thus seen an institutionalization of the methods whereby teachers qualify for entrance into the public service. Reliable statistics on the academic qualifications of teachers are not available as of 1910 for more than seven of the nine Illinois regional counties, but it is possible by employing those figures to make a rough estimate of the professionalization of the instructional staff of the Chicago Region in the years following.¹⁴ Only 3 per cent of the teachers in those seven counties were college graduates in 1910, and there were 7.6 per cent without high-school diplomas. Figures for all of regional Illinois indicate that in 1935, 48 per cent had four or more years of college training, 4.5 per cent had three years, 43 per cent two years, and 2.5 per cent one year. Those who

was appointed music supervisor suggests that positions in the educational department sometimes fall into this last category (*Chicago Daily News*, December 5, 1935, p. 6).

¹⁴ *Illinois School Report, 1910*, Tables 16, 17, and 18. Data for Cook County are obviously in error, and there are no statistics at all for Kankakee. Comparable data for regional Indiana and Wisconsin are not available.

had less than one year of college training (the categories are mutually exclusive) comprised 1.6 per cent of the total and the high-school graduates 0.3 per cent. Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent had not finished high school. Two years later, in 1937, the median teacher had slightly more than three years of training beyond high school.¹⁵

Present-day requirements for regular teaching positions indicate that there will be a continuation of this movement toward a more highly qualified teaching staff. The Chicago Normal College, reflecting a general raising of standards over the nation, has advanced the time requirement for a certificate from two years to three. In the field of high-school teaching the proportion of teachers with the Master's degree rises steadily.¹⁶ The hurdle of special examinations by a Board of Examiners has been removed in the case of elementary teachers but is still employed for high-school positions.¹⁷ No one may apply *de novo* for a certificate who is less than nineteen or more than forty-nine years of age.

In cases of emergency, such for example as the absence of a regularly constituted board of examiners, temporary certificates may be issued under the authority of the Board of Education, and holders of these may be appointed to give instruction in the schools, even though there may be persons on the regular list of eligibles holding permanent certificates. Authority to issue such certificates and make such appointments seems to have been exercised rather indiscriminately during the last few years. In the twelve-month from July 1, 1934, to July 1, 1935, for instance, 500

¹⁵ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1935*, Table 6; *ibid.*, 1937, Table 7.

¹⁶ Board of Education, *Rules, Arts. 7 and 8*.

¹⁷ Possession of a Master's degree is now a prerequisite to appointment to a principalship.

temporary certificates were issued and 330 instructors assigned for high-school duty alone, despite the fact that there were available all this time 842 teachers holding permanent certificates, including some in every field of instruction. During the first six months of the following school year, with 816 permanently certified teachers eligible for appointment, 521 temporary certificates were granted and 468 holders of them assigned to vacancies.¹⁸ Since then, however, there has been great improvement. By June of 1937 the number of temporaries had been reduced to 218. But there is need for further improvement. Unless pressure can be brought to arrest the injection of these political considerations into the system through which Chicago recruits her teachers, much that has been gained in years past is certain slowly to be lost.

One final criticism remains to be made of the Chicago recruiting program: it involves considerable in-breeding. This is evident on the elementary level particularly and may be seen most definitely in the rules governing attendance upon the Chicago Normal College and the granting of certificates to teach in the Chicago elementary schools. Cook County high-school graduates who are recommended by the county superintendent and other nonresidents of Chicago who pay a \$200 tuition fee may attend the college and be awarded its diploma, but members of neither group may be granted certificates to teach in the Chicago public schools.¹⁹ A recent rule on entry into high-school service seems likewise to ignore the perils of in-breeding. It provided that college graduates who could certify ten

¹⁸ See Gifford Ernest, "System Tammanyized, School Teachers Aver," *Chicago Daily News*, April 13, 1936. See also *Chicago's Schools*, November, 1937, pp. 1 and 4.

¹⁹ Board of Education, *Rules*, Art. 9, secs. 4, 5, and 6.

years' residence in Chicago might satisfy the requirement of two years' teaching experience by serving one year in the local system as an apprentice teacher.²⁰

CLASSIFICATION AND TEACHING LOAD

The principal classifications in educational personnel reflect the two main divisions within the school system itself: elementary and secondary.²¹ In the first of these groups teachers are generally held to be carrying a proper instructional load when they give effective instruction to classes enrolling forty pupils. In the year just preceding the opening of the period of this study, the superintendent of schools in Chicago, reporting on a special investigation he had initiated, stated that "the average number of pupils in each room in charge of one teacher, exclusive of kindergarten rooms and rooms in special schools, is about $44\frac{1}{2}$."²² Statistics issued by the superintendent of public instruction precisely a quarter-century later indicate that Chicago then had about the same distance to go in bringing the pupil-teacher ratio down to the standard of forty to one. For every teacher in the Chicago elementary schools in 1935, there was an average enrolment of 43.5.²³ By 1937, however, this had dropped to 40.6. For all other public schools in Cook County the corresponding averages of 30.4 for 1935 and 30.4 for 1937 indicates how far the

²⁰ Board of Education, *Proceedings, 1935*, Resolution 35,380A. This plan worked out so unsatisfactorily for those who took advantage of the offer during the school year 1935-36 that it is now in effect dead. The apprentices claim to have been promised teaching positions at the close of the year, but none were forthcoming (see *Chicago Daily News*, June 22, 1936).

²¹ There are seven general classifications of noninstructional employees, with junior and senior grades in each class (cf. Board of Education, *Rules*, chap. iii: "Regulations for Business Department").

²² Board of Education, *Annual Report, 1909*, pp. 90-92.

²³ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1935*, Tables 2 and 8; *ibid.*, 1937, Tables 2 and 8.

suburban schools, operating with present administrative areas, may be from making the most effective use of their elementary teaching personnel.

On the secondary level a thirty to one pupil-teacher ratio has been regarded as the goal toward which school administrators should work, but Chicago has burdened her instructors with a load in excess of that standard from the beginning and during nearly the whole of the last generation. Teachers in the six largest high schools in 1909 had average class enrolments of 34.²⁴ Twenty-five years later the average for all Chicago high schools was 34.4, and for all other public high schools in Cook County 28.4; the corresponding figures for 1937 were 32.1 and 25.0.²⁵ This long-persisting overburdening of Chicago's instructional staff has for several years kept the school system under the critical surveillance of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. According to the most recent report of the association, however, the Board of Education has lately effected pronounced improvement; Chicago high schools are now complying almost 100 per cent with the prescribed standards of a maximum of five classes and 160 pupils per day.²⁶ This marks real progress, for as recently as six years ago the Strayer staff reported that the median daily pupil-period load was 177, and a survey by the Illinois state committee of the North Central Association in October, 1935, revealed that 72.1 per cent of all Chicago high-school teachers were then handling more than the desired maximum.²⁷

²⁴ *Illinois School Report, 1909*, Tables 19 and 20.

²⁵ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1934*, Tables 4 and 12; *ibid.*, 1937, Tables 3 and 7.

²⁶ See "Recommendations of the Illinois State Committee of the North Central Association Relative to Continued Accrediting of the Public High Schools of Chicago," April 9, 1938 (mimeographed).

²⁷ Strayer Report, V, 119, and *Chicago Daily News*, April 17, 1936.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING

City and county teachers' institutes were regarded twenty-five years ago as vitally necessary to insure efficient teaching by the none-too-highly trained instructors who composed the educational staffs of the schools of Chicagoland at that time. Expenditures for such institutes in regional Illinois in 1910 amounted to \$4,407.²⁸ Today, though there has come with the formalization of teacher-training a tendency to assume that persons competent to satisfy entrance requirements are generally competent to teach without much special aid or admonition, these institutes still constitute the main portion of the in-service training program within the school system itself. Regional Illinois schools spent \$22,396 in support of them in 1936-37.²⁹

In addition to these institutes, the other principal avenues of in-service training are to be found in attendance at colleges and normal schools during vacations and in studying or traveling during leaves of absence and sabbatical leaves. It is difficult to secure information on these matters for the whole Region, but Chicago has succeeded fairly well in routinizing her procedures in the interest of continued professional advancement.³⁰ Instructors on sabbatical leave receive their regular salaries but are required to remit what it costs to supply a substitute.

SALARIES AND PROMOTIONS

For many years the Chicago Board of Education has employed what is known as the position-automatic type

²⁸ *Illinois School Report, 1910*, Table 15, pp. 834-36. There are no corresponding figures for regional Indiana and Wisconsin.

²⁹ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1937*, Table 29, pp. 96-97.

³⁰ See Board of Education, *Rules*, Art. 6. Approximately 120 teachers were on leave during the year 1934 (*Chicago Tribune*, May 16, 1935).

of salary schedule, and, despite a vigorous recommendation by the Strayer staff that it adopt the preparation-automatic principle, it still has this common type of compensation system.³¹ What this amounts to in effect is that the Board really has two, lately three, salary schedules, one for each of the levels of the school system—elementary, secondary, and junior college. Within each of these again there are two groups, advancement within which is automatic with term of experience but promotion to the higher of which is awarded on the basis of records made either in passing special examinations or in taking courses for credit at recognized institutes of learning.³²

The chief methods by which an instructor may climb from one salary schedule to another—and this is where the system is seriously defective—are by shifting from the elementary- to the high-school level or by a transfer from teaching to administration.³³ The inevitable result is that the ablest elementary teachers leave the grade schools for which they originally prepared and in which they have acquired a great fund of experience and enter high-school service despite the fact that there is just as much difficult and constructive work involved in teaching children on the lower level as on the upper.

In contrast the preparation-automatic type of salary schedule really is a single schedule. It may have internal divisions between which advancement depends on special examinations or on graduate study, but it is built funda-

³¹ Strayer Report, I, 303-6, and an interview with Assistant Superintendent James E. McDade, May 1, 1936.

³² Board of Education, *Rules*, Art. 8, sec. 7. The automatic increases have been suspended during the last few years.

³³ See the affidavit of Examiner J. J. Zmrhal, printed in the *Chicago Daily News* of March 24, 1938, for a description of the sabotage of the merit principle alleged in connection with the principals' examination of 1937.

mentally on the principle that compensation should be equated to preparation and experience rather than position and experience. Teachers possessed of unusual ability to deal with children in the lower grades could under the proposed plan secure material increases in salary without striving for a position in a wholly different type of work. It is in order for regional schools generally—where they have not already adopted the single-schedule plan—to plan the introduction of this principle into their systems.³⁴

Trends in teachers' salaries in the Chicago Region are difficult to isolate, but statistical reports do enable one to mark several somewhat significant facts. The average annual salaries for men and women teachers in Cook County in 1910 were \$1,697 and \$833, respectively; twenty-five years later they were \$2,445 and \$2,077 in Chicago and \$1,865 and \$1,355 in the suburbs outside.³⁵ On the surface these figures seem to register a distinct advance. When adjusted, however, for changes in the general price level, the situation wears a distinctly less favorable appearance. Table 25 reveals that in 1910 the adjusted salary of a man teacher in Cook County was \$1,768; in 1935 the adjusted average salary of a man teacher in Chicago was \$1,686 and in Cook County outside \$1,286. For women the respective figures are \$867, \$1,432, and \$934. Throughout

³⁴ Chicago has been unable to act upon the Strayer recommendation because of the present large differential between the elementary- and high-school teachers' salaries. The Board cannot afford a general lateral increase in the elementary schedule, and to reduce the high-school schedule would be impolitic—and indefensible in view of the heavy high-school teaching load. There is no sex discrimination in the Chicago salary schedule.

³⁵ *Illinois Statistical Report, 1910*. Tables 2 and 3; *ibid.*, 1935, Table 7. The figures for 1937 were only slightly higher: \$2,467 for men and \$2,069 for women in Chicago and \$2,318 for men and \$1,547 for women in Cook County outside Chicago (*ibid.*, 1937, Table 9).

the Region salaries for women show greater advances than those registered for men.

Discussion of salaries would not be complete without some recognition of the "payless paydays" Chicago teachers both in the central city and in the Region have had to endure during the depression and of the disinclination of the Chicago Board to restore the salary cuts which, an-

TABLE 25*
ADJUSTED AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES OF REGIONAL
ILLINOIS SCHOOLTEACHERS, 1935 AND 1910

	1935		1910	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
City of Chicago.....	\$1,686	\$1,432	.....	.....
Cook (outside).....	1,286	934	\$1,768†	\$867†
Du Page.....	1,222	808	881	479
Grundy.....	1,011	593	640	290
Kane.....	1,299	833	1,083	519
Kankakee.....	1,005	627	677	404
Kendall.....	794	459	731	356
Lake.....	1,516	948	916	439
McHenry.....	955	714	872	379
Will.....	1,439	766	1,026	472

* *Illinois Statistical Report, 1935, Table 7; ibid., 1910, Tables 2 and 3.* Actual salaries have been adjusted to eliminate the effects of changes in the general price level as in several earlier tables. With 1913 prices taken as par, prices for 1910 stood at 96 and for 1935 at 145.

† For all of Cook County.

nounced at a time when the teachers were getting no money, came as an ironic accompaniment to the reductions. It is impossible to say how great the default on pay checks was in the suburban districts, but in Chicago alone, from 1930 to 1934, the teachers were the victims of a situation in which the amount the Board of Education owed them, without interest, equaled \$42,000,000 for one year. Computed on the conservative basis of 5 per cent, interest on this forced loan would have totaled \$2,100,000.

Yet the political and business leaders of the metropolis, though they realized the hardships it entailed for the pedagogues, let the payless paydays drag on. In February, 1934, employees of the Sanitary District and the South Park commissions were paid up to date, Cook County employees were penalized two and one-half months in pay arrearage, and employees of the city of Chicago three months.³⁶ But the teachers employed by the "separate" and "independent" Board of Education were on the average six and one-half months behind in the receipt of their salaries.³⁷

Not wanting to pay this price for the "separation of schools from politics," the teachers did stage several demonstrations of protest and even considered going out on strike, but until the Reconstruction Finance Corporation indicated its willingness to loan the money necessary to pay their arrearage, the only answers the pedagogues got were the retort, "Go out and collect the taxes yourselves," and the classic expletive from General Dawes, "To hell with troublemakers!" Public money that went to pay the teachers was regarded in many influential quarters as nearly in the category of relief expenditures.

Salary reductions amounting to approximately 23.5 per cent were made in the Chicago system during the depression. What is worse is that up until the year 1937-38, when the teachers won back half their cut, there had been not even a partial restoration. Of fourteen of the largest city school systems in the United States seven reported full and four partial restoration as early as 1936; Chicago

³⁶ Some of these units of government derive considerable income from sources other than the property tax.

³⁷ *Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, February, 1934, p. 6.

was one of three that had made none at all. It must be acknowledged, of course, that reassessment and tax-collection difficulties have plagued Cook County districts terrifically. Yet two of the largest suburbs of Chicago, Cicero and Oak Park, had returned to their full pre-depression schedules, and Evanston had made a partial restoration.³⁸ Moreover, Chicago's city employees had had half of their pay cut restored.³⁹

VACATIONS AND SICK LEAVE

Because of the time-honored practice of holding school regularly not more than nine or ten months of the year and because of the general system of short Christmas and spring recesses the problem of vacations as a part of good personnel administration for teachers is solved almost automatically. There can be little doubt of the salutary effect of this system on staff morale. With regard to sick leave, however, the situation is different. Prior to January, 1932, Chicago offered fairly generous provisions regarding absence from duty caused by illness. During the first ten days elementary teachers were penalized \$2.00 per day and high-school teachers \$2.50. Together with graduated penalties for longer absences, this plan involved during two years ending in June, 1931, a per-teacher cost to the system of \$26.00 per year. Financial embarrassment obliged the Board to withdraw this support to instructional morale in 1932.⁴⁰ The new rules of the Board adopted in February, 1933, contain a lengthy section on salary reductions during sick leave, recognizing that the

³⁸ These facts were presented to the Chicago Board of Education by one of its members, Mrs. W. S. Hefferan, on January 8, 1936 (see *Proceedings* for that date).

³⁹ *Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, March, 1936, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Strayer Report, V, 134.

Board appreciates the value of such a plan at minimum cost. By a resolution of March 8, 1933, however, the Board suspended the operation of this section indefinitely. It finally went into effect in January, 1937; 298 leaves were granted from January 1 to March 15 of that year.⁴¹

TENURE

The Otis law of 1917 conferred on Chicago teachers a boon in respect of tenure that is not equaled elsewhere in the Region.⁴² Teachers in school systems outside Chicago have some security of position in their certificates, their annual contracts, and a strong presumption that good service will be rewarded by renewal from year to year, but in the corporate metropolis itself they have legal security of tenure after a three-year period of probation. Dismissal may occur only for cause and then, according to section 161 of the act,

only by a vote of not less than a majority of all members of the board, upon written charges presented by the superintendent of schools, to be heard by the board, or a duly authorized committee of the same, after thirty days' notice, with copy of the charges, is served upon the person against whom they are preferred, who shall have the privilege of being present, together with counsel, offering evidence and making defense. At the request of any party such hearing shall be public. The action and decision of the board in the matter shall be final. Pending the hearing of such charges, the person charged may be suspended as by the rules of the board may be prescribed: *Provided, however*, that in the event of acquittal, such person shall not suffer any loss of salary by reason of this suspension.

Civil service employees under the Chicago Board enjoy security of tenure paralleling that of the teachers almost exactly.⁴³ They are in this regard happily set apart from

⁴¹ See Art. 6, sec. 5 of the *Rules*. See also *Report of the Chicago Superintendent of Schools for 1937*, p. 289.

⁴² *School Law of Illinois* (Springfield, 1935) secs. 138 and 161.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, sec. 129.

noninstructional employees elsewhere in the Region, who have generally no legal rights to their jobs apart from the protection afforded by their annual contracts—if they have even these.

One of the most serious perils confronting Chicago teachers at present derives from the fact that these guaranties of tenure established almost two decades ago are in danger of being undermined by indirection. Shortly before his elevation to the position vacated by the death of Bogan, the present superintendent, then in charge of high schools, issued a ruling to the effect that a teacher giving instruction in a field other than that for which he was originally certified would be required either to qualify for a certificate in that field, to return to the field of his present certificate, or to leave the service.⁴⁴ To understand the technical nature of this regulation, one need only be reminded that the North Central Association is satisfied with the present qualifications of Chicago's teachers. Some have left their original major field but only after having earned fifteen hours of course credit in the new field in which they are today giving instruction. This is generally held to warrant full competence to teach in a given field. There can be no valid reason why those who have satisfied this requirement should be subjected to any threat of any kind respecting their tenure. The intention of the Otis Act should not be nullified by technical maneuvering of this kind.⁴⁵

Tenure rights of regional teachers outside Chicago are closely connected with the granting and revocation of life-licenses and certificates. Indiana's statutes seem to afford the greatest protection. Since 1927, any person who

⁴⁴ See Bulls. 75, 75A, and 80 from the office of Assistant Superintendent W. H. Johnson, January and February, 1936.

⁴⁵ See *Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, March, 1936; see also *Chicago Daily News*, March 30, 1936, p. 1.

has five years of successful teaching to his or her credit and who has been offered a new contract by either a school city or a school town is declared by the law of Indiana to be a "permanent teacher" in the sense that his or her contract shall be deemed to continue in effect indefinitely until he or she reaches the age of sixty-six. Such "indefinite contracts" may be canceled but only after due hearing upon a definitely stated cause. In case of insubordination or immorality, cancellation may occur immediately, otherwise it follows at the close of the year.⁴⁶ For four years' successful teaching experience, two of which must have been within the state, and upon the meeting of several special requirements, Illinois, beginning in 1929, has granted life-certificates to teach in her schools. They may, however, be suspended "upon evidence" by the county superintendent and may in like manner be revoked by the state superintendent of public instruction for "immorality, incompetency, unprofessional conduct or other just cause."⁴⁷ Wisconsin's statute on revocation of licenses bears considerable resemblance to the one for Illinois but makes the teacher's right to defend himself just a little more explicit. Both the county and the state superintendents may revoke licenses, but the former must give the holder "an opportunity to be heard," and the latter must, after dispatching the holder written notice of charges, give him "an opportunity for defense."⁴⁸ It is plain from these facts that,

⁴⁶ *Burn's Annotated Statutes of Indiana* (1933), chap. 28, secs., 4307 and 4308.

⁴⁷ Illinois, *Laws* (1929), p. 712, and Smith-Hurd's *Ill. Rev. Stat.*, chap. 122, secs. 481-97. This last section provides, in part: "Unprofessional conduct shall include an indifferent or antagonistic attitude toward, or refusal to attend or participate in, institutes, teachers' meetings, professional reading or other reasonable requirements of the county or State superintendent."

⁴⁸ Wisconsin, *Statutes* (1933), chap. 39, secs. .09 and .32.

though suburban teachers are not without some important rights of tenure, they do not have the almost complete protection enjoyed by the staff in Chicago.

PENSIONS AND RETIREMENT

The last quarter-century has witnessed the progressive development of several plans for the systematic retirement from school employment in the Chicago Region of teachers meeting given age and service requirements. At the opening of the period none of the three regional states had enacted any state-wide plan for pensioning superannuated teachers, but the Chicago staff had already had more than fifteen years of painful and valuable experience with a retirement system of their own.⁴⁹ Agitation begun in the 1880's resulted in 1895 in the enactment of a compulsory pension system to which each teacher was required to contribute 1 per cent of his salary for twenty-five years. In return for these payments school employees were guaranteed \$600 annually for the rest of their lives—an impossible performance in view of the fact that the law states that no taxes should ever be levied for the fund. By 1902, after an actuarial investigation had revealed the hopelessness of the plan as then constituted, the compulsory feature was dropped, and some two thousand teachers withdrew from the fund; the annuities fell from \$600 to \$135.

The next significant changes came in 1907; the system was strengthened in this year by a provision requiring interest on unused school tax funds to be diverted to the

⁴⁹ The writer has leaned heavily for the description of Chicago pension developments on the *Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, November, 1935, pp. 6-7. Cf. Paul Studenski, *Teachers' Pension Systems in the United States* (New York: Appleton, 1920). Note especially the chapter on Chicago.

pension fund, and teacher control over its administration was increased at the expense of the Board of Education. Furthermore, an element of compulsion was reintroduced in that each new employee was required to contribute \$5 per year. With an increase in annuity payments to \$250, the system was able at this time to raise its prestige among the members of Chicago's staff, and approximately seven hundred of those who had withdrawn five years earlier now returned. The first of nine changes in the pension law made during the last generation—all of them placing the fund on a sounder foundation—came in 1911 when the statute cited above diverting interest moneys to the pension treasury was repealed and replaced by a tax levy equal to the teachers' contributions increasing income to the point where annuitants were guaranteed an additional \$100 yearly. A law of 1913 next permitted contributions from tax funds double those of contributors. With the completion four years later of a second actuarial examination disclosing a potential \$5,000,000 deficit, two important changes were introduced: maximum annual payments by teachers were stepped up from \$30 to \$40 and the doubling of these contributions from tax sources was made mandatory. Since then the tax rate has been increased six times, the latest advance coming in 1935, and the contributions of school employees have likewise been enlarged. At present maximum teacher contributions are fixed at \$120 per year and the tax rate, established at .15 mills only nine years ago, stands at .8 mills.⁵⁰ There have been corresponding increases in the annuities; maximum payments, available to those with twenty-five years of service to their credit, amount to \$1,200 per year.

In addition to this forty-year-old pension system, however, the Chicago personnel have for the last decade en-

⁵⁰ Illinois Session, *Laws* (1935), pp. 1384-88.

joyed an additional protection against the day of separation from the service in the form of what is known as the Miller law. Enacted in 1926, this measure provided that all persons under the grade of superintendent who were seventy-five years of age should be retired from the staff in 1927, all seventy-four and over in 1928, and so on down until by 1930 everyone over the age of seventy should have been eliminated. Upon separation from the service, each of these persons were to be given an annuity of \$1,500 and, in order to encourage even earlier retirement, it was provided that teachers retiring voluntarily at sixty-five might receive \$1,000, those leaving at sixty-six \$1,100 and so on up to \$1,400 at age of sixty-nine.

By August of 1935, 1,057 veteran teachers had retired in accordance with this plan, 902 of whom were still living. It was under these circumstances that the General Assembly of Illinois enacted what was judged by many of Chicago's teachers one of the most inconsiderate measures of recent years. This statute lowered the age of compulsory retirement in one stroke from seventy to sixty-five and at the same time reduced the annuity from \$1,000 to \$500.⁵¹ Two hundred and fifty-two teachers were in consequence deprived of their positions. During the two years immediately following, these teachers attempted in vain to regain their positions and to secure a restoration of annuities to the former level.⁵²

⁵¹ *Ill. Rev. Stat.* (1937), p. 2996. The maximum total annuity a Chicago teacher may derive from both sources at present is \$1,700; the maximum for civil service employees is \$1,800.

⁵² Judge Harry B. Miller, of the Superior Court, ruled against these teachers in an oral opinion on February 24, 1936. "I am satisfied," he said, "that a pension right is not a vested right. It is a gratuity of the legislature" (see *Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, March, 1936, pp. 4-5). This decision was ultimately sustained by the U.S. Supreme Court.

As a result of these developments, Chicago's pension and retirement system is at present in a confused and unsatisfactory state even beyond what it was when, four years ago, the Strayer staff recommended a thorough reorganization upon the basis of another actuarial investigation.⁵³ Yet the situation is not without its hopeful aspects. The governor and the president of the Chicago Board have agreed to co-operate with the teachers of Chicago in securing at an early session of the legislature a general reorganization of the whole pension system that will be both fair to the staff and actuarially sound.⁵⁴

As for other regional school districts a very few, like Gary for example, have pension systems of their own, but in general whatever retirement protection suburban teachers have is afforded by regular state-wide pension funds.⁵⁵ Illinois took the initiative in this movement in 1911 by enacting legislation permitting any school district having between 1,000 and 100,000 population to set up its own retirement fund.⁵⁶ Two years later Indiana enacted similar permissive legislation for school cities of from 56,000 to 70,000.⁵⁷ Not until 1915, however, did either state establish any plan of its own. In that year both states acted similarly. Illinois created a state teachers' pension and retirement fund and Indiana a state teachers' retirement

⁵³ Strayer Report, I, 293-97.

⁵⁴ See the summary of the tentative report of the Pension Research Committee of the Chicago Division of the Illinois State Teachers Association in the *Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, October, 1935, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁵ See, regarding Gary, *Burn's Annotated Statutes of Indiana* (1933), chap. 28-4601, giving chap. 170, Art. 1 of Acts of 1907.

⁵⁶ Illinois, *Laws* (1911), p. 513.

⁵⁷ Indiana, *Acts* (1913), chap. 77, Art. 1. See *Burn's Annotated Statutes of Indiana* (1933), chap. 28-4801. Hammond falls in this group at present.

fund.⁵⁸ Membership in these funds has been and is compulsory for all public-school teachers not enrolled by statute in any other public retirement system. No age has been set for compulsory separation from service in either state, but a scale of annuities graduated according to length of employment operates to keep the superannuated from holding on to their positions beyond the age of efficiency. Teachers in regional Wisconsin get corresponding benefits from a state retirement law enacted in 1919.⁵⁹ Of the excellence and adequacy of these three state systems it is impossible to judge here.

EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

There are three significant angles from which it is pertinent to examine the trends in organization for collective bargaining among the teachers of the Chicago Metropolitan Region: their own internal unity—locally, in the states, and nationally; their relations with organized labor; and their relations with other governmental employees. These phases overlap considerably, yet it may be convenient to attempt to examine them under these heads.

Initiative for organization among the teachers of Chicago has derived from two main sources—the office of the superintendent and the staff itself. It is possible in consequence to distinguish two broad traditions in the movement. The first has been embodied in the vicissitudes of the teachers' councils,⁶⁰ originally suggested by John Dewey and Colonel Francis W. Parker as a means of se-

⁵⁸ Illinois, *Laws* (1915), p. 649, and Smith-Hurd, *Annotated Statutes of Illinois* (1933), chap. 122, sec. 591; Indiana, *Burn's Statutes* (1933), chap. 45.

⁵⁹ See Wisconsin, *Statutes* (1933), chap. 42, secs. 20-54.

⁶⁰ For the best general description of the rise and fall of the councils see George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928).

curing participation by teachers in school management. They held that such a scheme was not only worthy of use as an administrative device but that a democratic educational system ought to be democratically controlled. Superintendent Young, who inaugurated the councils in the Chicago public schools, seemed to be fairly well pleased with results, even though in the elementary schools they were dominated by the dynamic leadership of Chicago's famous storm-center, Miss Margaret Haley, of the Chicago Teachers Federation.⁶¹ They furnished an official medium through which the classroom teachers could communicate with those at the top of the educational hierarchy whether in the individual school or in the whole system.

After her retirement in 1915, the councils lapsed and were more or less dormant until reconstructed by the Board of Education in 1921.⁶² When reintroduced they operated on this basis (in the elementary schools): (a) one local council in each school exclusive of principals; (b) group councils of about two hundred teachers from adjacent schools; (c) a general council composed of one delegate from each of thirty-nine group councils. Meetings were held on school time, forty-five minutes being set aside for this purpose during the sixth and thirteenth weeks of each semester.⁶³ In this manner the councils operated uneventfully for three years, their discussions being devoted mainly to the immediate professional interests of the teachers.

⁶¹ Even with Mrs. Young, however, the accusation has been made that she used them mainly as a democratic safety valve.

⁶² Chicago's superintendents since 1909 have been as follows: Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, 1909-15; Mr. John D. Shoop, 1915-18; Mr. Charles E. Chadsey, 1919; Mr. Peter A. Mortenson, 1919-24; Mr. William McAndrew, 1924-27; Mr. William J. Bogan, 1927-36; Mr. William H. Johnson, 1936—.

⁶³ Counts., *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14.

In 1924, however, when McAndrew became executive head of the school system, he refused to accord them official recognition, denying them the right to meet on school time. Of itself, this would hardly have caused their downfall; the determining factors were Mr. McAndrew's own thinly veiled insistence that the councils were to be abolished and the dissensions then rife among the members of the teaching force. The superintendent's attack upon the councils might under different circumstances have welded the teachers of the city together into a real, tight organization to fight for teachers' rights. But nothing of this sort happened.⁶⁴ They permitted differences of school level, of compensation, of social class, of nationality, of religion, and of professional rank to keep them divided, and the councils disappeared from the scene. They have not yet returned. Whether they will at any future date is exceedingly problematical. Members of the Teachers Section Committee of Superintendent Bogan's Advisory Council studied from 1930 to 1933 the problems involved in a reinstallation and, at his request, drew up a set of rules to govern their reorganization.⁶⁵ In February, 1933, when the Board of Education drafted a new set of rules of procedure for the Educational Department it included an article on teachers' councils. By a resolution on March 8, however, operation of this article was suspended indefinitely; and there the matter rests.⁶⁶

The second tradition has been embodied in a continuing series of efforts toward the uniting of their forces emanating from the teachers themselves. Save for confusion and

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

⁶⁵ See mimeographed leaflet, "Scope of the Committee Work of the Superintendent's Advisory Council," of May, 1933.

⁶⁶ Board of Education, *Rules*, Art. 20.

controversy over two basic issues of policy, this development might long since have fructified in a consolidated school personnel possessed of tremendous power. But instead of one big association there were until recently no less than ten major "welfare" organizations (and some eighteen or twenty additional "professional" organizations), none of them capable of speaking effectively for the whole teaching staff.

The basic issues on which teachers have been muddled and divided have been these: do teachers have the right to organize and (assuming that they agree they do) should they affiliate with organized labor. When the period of this study opened, American government may be described generally as having been in its "police" as contrasted with its present "service" stage, and men like Nicholas Murray Butler, not willing to acknowledge the vast difference between the welfare as opposed to the defense functions of the state, were traveling about the country wherever schoolteachers were effecting strong organizations warning the "better elements" that peace and order would be undermined if the idea was allowed to prevail that teachers could organize legally against their employers, the boards of education.⁶⁷ School personnel was identified by these authorities with military and police personnel, and the great majority of the teachers were sufficiently impressed by the analogy as to be lacking in enthusiasm for genuine collective bargaining. Generally, therefore, the teaching staff has preferred to regard itself as a profession, like the law or medicine, and has sought through administration-dominated organizations like the National Education As-

⁶⁷ See Butler's address in *Public Education in Chicago*, a volume published by the Merchant's Club of Chicago in 1908. See also the report of the president of the Chicago Board of Education in the *Report of the Chicago Public Schools for 1909*.

sociation and the Chicago division of the Illinois State Teachers Association to secure better pay and better working conditions.

Both of these associations have admittedly done much good work. Yet the organizations that have made the greatest relative advances in the last decade and that are growing most rapidly in strength and numbers at present are not those which are content to beg for what they might demand as rights but those which, whether affiliated with labor or not, proceed upon the assumption that teachers will never be able to get the salaries or working conditions they deserve until they are in a position to treat with school authorities on somewhat equal terms.⁶⁸

The situation with respect to teachers' organizations has been changing so rapidly in Chicago in the last two years that it is difficult to present a clear and accurate picture. Prior to September, 1937, the teachers were working through ten separate local groups: the Chicago Teachers Federation, established in 1897; the Principals' Club, 1900; Chicago Teachers League, 1905; Men Teachers Union,* 1916; Federation of Women High School Teachers,* 1916; Elementary Teachers Union,* 1929; Playground Teachers Union,* 1930; Educational Secretaries Union,* 1932; the Chicago High School Teachers Association; and the Chicago division of the Illinois State Teachers Association.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Membership figures of the National Education Association for 1933-34, supplied by the Washington office, indicate that approximately 25 per cent of Chicago's staff then belonged. For all Cook County the percentage of membership was 31.7. Actual memberships were as follows: Chicago, 3,174; Cook County, 5,138; regional Illinois, 6,589; regional Indiana, 720; the Chicago Region, 7,622.

⁶⁹ The asterisks denote locals of the American Federation of Teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. These were, in order, Locals 2, 3, 199, 209, and 224.

In addition, they had developed two channels for collaborative action: the Teachers Steering Committee and the Joint Conference of Principals and Teachers.

By that time, however, the buffetings of the depression had made them ripe for greater unity, and there occurred a development which promised to make 1937 the greatest turning-point in the history of the long effort to get the teachers of Chicago united in a single organization. The five locals listed above banded together to form the main group of Chicago Teachers Union, Local No. 1, of the American Federation of Teachers, the largest teachers' union in the world.⁷⁰ Led by an aggressive president and an energetic executive secretary, this group capitalized on the latent desire for union among the city's 13,000 teachers and put enough vigor into an organizing campaign to enrol more than 8,500 of them under its banners by the time school closed in June, 1938. Such a tidal wave was more than some of nonunion associations could endure, and two of them, the Chicago Teachers League and the Chicago High School Teachers Association, began definitely to disintegrate. The latter changed its name to the Association of Chicago Teachers and, claiming membership of elementary teachers only, moved its headquarters into the building housing the offices of the Haley-dominated Chicago Teachers Federation. Another development was that the need for the Steering Committee and the Joint Conference practically vanished and that both of these agencies ceased to function. Thus, as the 1938-39 school year approached, the only organizations of any importance which were functioning were the Chicago Teachers Union, the Chicago division of the Illinois State Teachers Association, the

⁷⁰ The Teachers Union of Paris, France, with seven thousand members, ranks second.

Chicago Principals' Club, and the Chicago Teachers Federation.

All signs apparent in the summer of 1938 pointed to the first of these groups as destined for leadership in representing the teaching staff of the city. It had more than 65 per cent of the teachers already signed up and was moving steadily toward an immediate goal of ten thousand members. It had hundreds of able and devoted individuals trained by experience in their former "locals" to contribute effectively to the operation of the organization. It had a flourishing credit union through which "its members were learning to rely upon themselves for loans." It had a well-established publicity program: a biweekly news bulletin, a quarterly magazine, and a schedule of weekly radio addresses over WCFL. It was aware of the need for continuing self-education, to satisfy which its intelligent executive secretary was sponsoring a regular study group. Its finances were on a sound basis. Finally its officers seemed to have a keen realization of the fact that in the long run the only way the union could succeed would be through showing just as much concern for the children of Chicago and the taxpayers as for its own members.

To treat next the relations of teachers' associations with labor, the only one of the ten groups mentioned above which, though not affiliated with labor, has yet been aware of a community of interest with organized workers has been the Chicago Teachers Federation. Founded in 1897, it has throughout a good part of the period of this study been one of the strongest of the organizations fighting for teachers' rights. The history of the long struggle for the right of public-school employees to join forces with labor—the second main phase of the movement for effective collec-

tive bargaining—may be sketched briefly by noting the early struggles of this organization.

The Chicago Teachers Federation affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor as early as 1902. Though criticized severely, it persisted in its course and proceeded for a decade and more to make good use of this valuable and powerful connection.⁷¹ Its strength irritated the Board of Education considerably. In 1915 Mr. Jacob Loeb, chairman of the rules committee, thought to end the irritation by securing the adoption of an amendment prohibiting membership by teachers in labor unions of any kind. Sixty-eight teachers were dismissed subsequently for violation of the rule. The association carried the issue into the courts, putting up a valiant fight until the Supreme Court in 1917 handed down a decision declaring that the Board was free within wide limits to set whatever restrictions on employment it pleased.⁷² The Chicago Teachers Federation severed its formal connection with labor as an outgrowth of this adverse decision and has never rejoined since, though Miss Margaret Haley, the life and brains of the group throughout the last thirty years, continued, however, to have considerable influence in the official circles of the Chicago Federation of Labor.⁷³ But though the Board of Education won its fight in the Supreme Court of Illinois, its victory was short-lived. Chicago's embattled teachers carried the struggle to the floor of the General Assembly where, supported by organized labor, they secured recogni-

⁷¹ As early as 1904 Miss Haley told the N.E.A. that teachers throughout the country should affiliate with labor (Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* [New York: Scribners, 1935], p. 242).

⁷² Counts, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.

⁷³ Mary J. Herrick, "The Negro in the Public Schools of Chicago" (University of Chicago thesis [1932]), p. 78.

tion of the right to labor-union membership in the tenure provisions of the Otis law.

It was during the two-year fight over the Loeb rule that the American Federation of Teachers, parent-organization for all academicians affiliated with the A.F. of L., had its inception. Plenty of courage was required to withstand the shafts of ridicule that were hurled upon the pioneers, but they persisted and succeeded.⁷⁴ Four "locals" have been organized in Chicago since the first two, the Men Teachers Union and the Federation of Women High School Teachers,⁷⁵ were founded twenty years ago. Eight have been established elsewhere in the Region, all within the past few years. They are located in Hammond, Evanston, Berwyn, Cicero, Gary, Kenosha, Michigan City, and Waukegan.

Two decades of activity have proven conclusively the groundlessness of the objections raised against teachers' organizations affiliated with labor. The A.F. of T. unions are not radical, they are not socialistic, and they are not out to strike against the public interest in order to advance their own. The record of the last twenty years (or thirty-five if one wishes to recognize the affiliation of the Chicago Teachers Federation from 1902 to 1917) only proves that the unions can be counted upon to supply vigorous leadership in the continuing struggle of the teachers for their rights as workers or as citizens.

The third significant angle from which teachers' associations may be examined is that of their relationship with other groups of public employees and particularly those in

⁷⁴ See the literature published by the A.F. of T. and their official organ, *American Teacher*, for a full account of their struggles. The national office of the Federation is in Chicago.

⁷⁵ The monthly *Bulletins* of the Federation of Women High School Teachers, which has been quoted frequently in this study, stamp this organization as second to none in the breadth and aggressiveness of its work.

the service of local government. Though the situation is improving, analysis of the problem of effective school personnel organizations from this standpoint discloses one of the most unsatisfactory situations encountered in the whole field of the government of education. Here, broadly speaking, are two groups employed by the same people, serving the same clientele and paid out of the same treasury. Circumstances may alter their fortunes slightly in the short run, but ultimately, and in a very real sense, they are certain to share the same destiny. One cannot genuinely prosper while the other languishes in financial embarrassment; one is not in the long run more necessary to the welfare of the people of the Region than the other.

Yet they have only begun to co-operate. Many of the leaders are ready to collaborate, but the rank and file apparently do not understand their positions relative to each other. The teachers, trying to maintain their socioeconomic status by identifying themselves with the professional class, frequently look with disdain upon their brother public servants in the employ of the city or the county. Indulging in a bit of occupational self-righteousness, they conjure up as Mr. Typical City Hall Employee a person who probably secured his job through political influence, whose work, easily routinized, entails little responsibility, and who, if not of inferior ability, is at least of inferior attainment.⁷⁶ The "City Hall crowd" reciprocates this misunderstanding in great measure. They point to the teachers' short hours, their long vacations, their clean work, their sometimes impractical "book-learnin'," and their own special pedagogical brand of politics and fre-

⁷⁶ See Edith Smith, "Chicago Teachers Are Paid," *Nation*, September 19, 1934, pp. 322-23, for a colorful presentation of the teacher's attitude toward the City Hall.

quently resolve "they'll be d——" before they lift a finger to help them climb to still higher vantage ground.⁷⁷

It is not ordained, however, that this disinclination of the two great groups of public employees to co-operate must continue. Perhaps both can be made aware of the larger problem with which this study is concerned—the harmonious mutual adjustment of all the functions of local government in the metropolitan area. If the leaders on both sides can get their groups to see the interdependence in their interrelations, a basic personnel problem in the school systems of metropolitan Chicago will be in the course of solution.⁷⁸

A PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT NEEDED

No element in the successful operation of a great school system is more important than the morale and competence of the teaching staff. It is a matter of concern, therefore, that the Chicago administrative structure as now organized does not follow the practice dictated by experience and assign to one of the four assistant superintendents the express function of studying the conditions under which teachers work and keeping Board and superintendent informed of changes that need to be made. The recommendation with which the Strayer staff brought its survey to a close deserves to be repeated here and elsewhere until action has been taken to put it into effect: Chicago ought to have, within her school system, a department of personnel charged with responsibility, from the administrative side,

⁷⁷ By and large the feeling between the engineer-custodian force of the Chicago schools and the teaching staff parallels that between the instructors and the city employees (see Strayer Report, IV, 192-93).

⁷⁸ Joint sponsorship of the publication of the *Wisconsin Public Employee* by teachers and regular government employees in that state offers one good sign in this direction.

for guaranteeing the best possible conditions of work for the city's teaching staff.⁷⁹ Likewise in the larger suburban districts throughout the Region, some school administrator should be given specifically the assignment to secure and maintain for the instructional force of the district the conditions of work requisite to efficient service.

⁷⁹ Strayer Report, V, 136-37.

CHAPTER VII

THE HAZARDS OF POLITICS

GOVERNMENT: SCIENCE OF THE POSSIBLE

The road between recommendations and reconstruction is a long one, and it is marked by many pitfalls. It is twelve years since the publication of the first of the University of Chicago researches on governmental problems of metropolitan Chicago, twenty-two since the issuance by the Bureau of Public Efficiency of its basic report on unification of local governments in Chicago, and thirty-three since the launching, in New York City, of the municipal research movement in the United States.¹ When the number of recommendations that have been effected in the Chicago area during these three decades is contrasted with the number that have been made by those who have investigated its problems, one cannot fail to appreciate the limits within which research has the power to get itself accepted. To criticize may still be the easiest thing in the world, but, in view of the difficulties involved in getting their proposals adopted, it must seem to many students that almost the next easiest thing is to offer recommendations.

Political science is the science of what is possible.² Experts in the field of governmental research do not become less scientific or objective when they recognize this hard reality. If anything, they become more scientific and more

¹ Reference is made to the founding of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research in 1906.

² J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule* (New York, 1935), p. 9.

objective because they widen and deepen the scope of their inquiries and surmount the dangers of forging their recommendations in a vacuum. Once they may have been content to lay out an ideal or model plan and let the community concerned take it or leave it. Now, without being cynical, they simply take politics as it is rather than as they might wish it to be and set forth not only the path toward ultimate perfection but also every other course that gives promise of improvement. They may continue to indicate the farther, harder, and probably more unlikely steps a community could take, but they normally devote more attention to the shorter, easier, and less ambitious steps which it may take. This is the attitude in which the preceding chapters of this book have been written. In this chapter an effort is made to analyze some of the divers hazards that will have to be circumvented if *any* of the recommendations issuing from the study are to be adopted.

POLITICAL OBSTACLES TO ENLARGING AREAL UNITS

No one in the entire Region has had a better chance to observe the political aspects of the problem of securing a larger school unit than the former superintendent of public instruction in Illinois, Francis G. Blair. Having held that office uninterruptedly from 1907 to 1935, he knows, if anyone knows, to what extent the people in a small community will without special inducement take advantage of opportunities to establish larger and more efficient districts. His testimony is decisive, and it is discouraging. Reviewing in 1932 the long vain struggle for a larger unit in Illinois, especially the unsuccessful attempt around 1910 to adopt the township as the basic area and the refusal of the people during the two decades that followed to consolidate their diminutive districts, he declared that the very people

whom the legislation was designed to aid most proved to be most vehement in opposing it.³

Probably an explanation of this paradox is to be found in the fact that what all might approve or accept if done generally, few communities will do on their own initiative. In the case of district mergers, though they might admit all the superiorities of the consolidated school,⁴ very few people feel inclined to go ahead and incur even temporary increases in taxation and run the risk of having to allow others a voice in controlling the education of their children, if they have no assurance that the general public is going to try the water with them.⁵ Well-to-do districts never care to join their fortunes with poor ones, and poverty among the latter seldom serves as a deterrent to an indulgence in pride and independence on their part. Optional consolidation means, therefore, practically no consolidation at all.

The religion of rigidity in government has so many passive devotees in the metropolitan area that any plan of reorganization which relies wholly upon local initiative is almost foreordained to fail. It is for this reason that the plan of the advisory staff of the present Illinois Educational Commission is likely to fall short of effecting a thoroughgoing readjustment of areal difficulties. After expressing the hope that through gradual evolution their

³ *Illinois School Report, 1931-32*, p. 34.

⁴ H. H. Baker, "A Comparative Study of Pupil Achievement in Consolidated and One-Teacher Schools" (University of Chicago thesis [1927]), p. 100; J. F. Snodgrass, "Survey of Consolidation of Rural Schools in Illinois" (University of Chicago thesis [1926]), p. 72; L. H. Mahoney, "Consolidated Schools of Illinois" (University of Chicago thesis [1934]).

⁵ C. M. Smart, "Consolidated Rural School Movement Reaches Illinois," *Illinois Municipal Review*, April, 1932, pp. 85-88 *passim*.

county boards of education might "be given administrative control of all schools in the county except those located in municipalities which prefer to remain independent," they recommend that provision be made, as an intermediate step, whereby "local districts, by vote of the electorate concerned, may abolish their local boards and come under the administration of the county board." This seems to be the reflection of just so much wishful thinking—though the presence of an established county educational authority might actually be of some inducement. An accompanying suggestion that further provision be made allowing the electorate of an entire county to abolish all its local boards and districts appears to be much better considered.⁶

But political fundamentalism respecting school areas would probably make this provision a dead letter too. It is inescapable that, if school districts are to be combined in clusters large enough to constitute efficient areas and if this rearrangement is to be achieved within a reasonable future period, the matter must be taken out of the hands of districts as such and probably even of county electorates. Regardless of all the clichés and shibboleths anent the boons of local self-government and the perils of centralization, there must be inducement and pressure from above. The sovereign legislature created the mess, and the sovereign legislature alone can make adequate amends. Its power to create and alter districts is complete and may be exercised without the consent of local residents, provided, of course, such action has not been prohibited in the state constitution.⁷ It is likewise free to use its discretion in ad-

⁶ Benner Report, pp. 10-11.

⁷ *People ex rel. Vautman v. Madison*, 280 Ill. 96 (1917).

justing pre-existing debts and assets of school districts upon alteration of boundaries.⁸

If, as has been said a million times, "education is a function of the state" (and it is well to stress in this context the fact that it is by no means an activity purely local in its significance), the legislatures of the three regional commonwealths could not do better than honor that principle by one major stroke and exercise the power they possess to give the people, even without their complete initial support, a set of administrative areas that would facilitate rather than impede the proper ordering of educational affairs.

Reference was made earlier to the necessity of effecting a mutual accommodation among the best areal patterns for administration, the best areal plan for financial support, and the more elusive areas of sentiment or community consciousness. Without any doubt these last will be of crucial importance in any serious effort to reconstitute school administrative areas. The research upon which this study has been based has not included any objective measurement of the intensity of local loyalties throughout greater Chicago. It may be suggested, nevertheless, that in a territory where the same person may belong to half-a-dozen or more governmental jurisdictions, all with differing boundaries, it is unlikely that attachment to any one unit has become so strong as to demand its retention, especially when the others are left intact. There is already some community cohesion attaching to regional cities and counties. Making these same areas basic school units

⁸ *Trustees of Schools v. Douglas*, 17 Ill. 209 (1855). See also L. L. Schilb, "Judicial Decisions Relating to the Creation, Alteration, and Existence of School Districts" (University of Chicago thesis [1932]), pp. 38, 43, and 60.

would undoubtedly give a new impetus to this sentiment. There is reason, consequently, for believing that to employ the city and county as the bases of a new areal pattern would lead ultimately to a happy accommodation of areas of administration with areas of local culture and sentiment.

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF REORGANIZING
OVERHEAD CONTROL

Here, as always, the task of drafting a better structural plan and suggesting the legal difficulties involved in its adoption is much easier than delineating steps which will induce the public to demand better organization. "Less politics and more administration" has been the watchword of champions of civic betterment for half a century or more. Year in and year out they have fought to hold their ground and perchance to advance, but it is a rather discouraging commentary on their fine efforts that generally it has required the intolerable hardships of a depression to enable them to win any considerable area of new ground. As Louis Brownlow has observed: "It was the last great depression, that of the 80's and 90's, which wiped out our separate boards of finance, and police commissioners, and finance commissioners, and so on, and brought them into the integrated municipal government. . . . Perhaps in view of that relation . . . we might begin to look for trends here."⁹

That there are evidences of interest in the reconstruction of local government in the Chicago Region cannot be doubted.¹⁰ A negative sign is to be seen in the formation here and there throughout the metropolitan area of groups

⁹ *Report on Schools and Cities*, p. 53.

¹⁰ Probably the best barometer of this interest during the 1930's has been the editorial and news columns of the *Chicago Daily News*.

who feel the ground slipping from under them and who hope to maintain things as they are. Following the issuance of the Jacobs surveys, the Griffenhagen recommendations, and the Merriam Report, efforts have been made in several communities to organize resistance to the consolidation of governments.¹¹ None of them seems, however, to have been able to arouse much of an active following. Consolidation of the twenty-odd park governments into the Chicago Park District in 1934 represented a positive achievement of genuine significance.

The public schools have during the depression come some distance toward accepting the view that they must show a far more practical interest in government than they have hitherto. Schoolteachers and administrators are acknowledging more and more that in much of their work they have been "vigorously irrelevant," that their activities are intimately interwoven with the general social and political fabric, and that consequently they cannot afford to let politics go be default any longer.¹²

The fears that abolition of elected school boards will make it impossible for the people to express their opinions on school matters directly should not prove too solid to dispel. The public can be shown it is only through simplifying the structure of local government drastically that the voter's task can be reduced to manageable proportions so

¹¹ See *Chicago Daily News*, November 25, 1932, "Suburbs Unite in Fight To Save Their Identity"; *ibid.*, January 4, 1936, "May Organize School Boards in Will County." The American County Association, with headquarters in the Chicago metropolitan area, might be classed as another example of a group interested in holding fast to the *status quo* (*Chicago Tribune*, March 23, 1933).

¹² One sentence in the *Bulletin of the Federation of Women High School Teachers*, February, 1936, urging teachers to participate in the spring elections is illustrative of this view. "Always," wrote the president, "a large share of our troubles are our own fault, because we do not do the thing right under our noses to do."

that he will be able to pass on the effectiveness of *all* public services. No one conversant with the facts will contend that the citizen, either in Chicago or in most of the other cities of the Region, now has such an opportunity, whether in respect of education or any other governmental function. What has obtained has been rather a progressive degradation of popular government through an unbridled extension of the dogma that the cure for the ills of democracy is "more democracy." Thus, in the name of a polity having for its most fundamental tenet the right of all the people to participate in the determination of policy, there has developed a system which frustrates democracy either because it presents to the citizen for decision questions so numerous that he becomes confused or because it asks him to pass on the qualifications of innumerable potential office-holders with whose merits he cannot possibly acquaint himself. What has resulted is that selfish interests have stepped in and taken advantage of the slack in so cumbersome a mechanism to effect their own narrow purposes. They have been able to administer supposedly public services to suit private ends with little fear of being held to any accountability whatever. These are no idle words; they are facts.¹³ Whether or not to integrate schools with government is not an abstract question; it has arisen in acute form because the cities of the Chicago Region are facing conditions, not mere theories.

Good schools and good municipal government are neither mutually exclusive nor independent phenomena. They go together. Education and politics both suffer under the present dispensation, and both will gain under the one

¹³ See Charles H. Judd, "Abolish the School Boards," *Public Management*, November, 1933, p. 321, and the debate between Charles H. Judd and W. A. Bailey, "Should School Boards Be Abolished?" *ibid.*, January, 1934.

proposed. Much of the known fine loyalty and interest now confined to the schools will "spill over" into the realm of sordid politics and work a salutary influence there. At first it might seem to part of the "school crowd" that they were being asked to soil their hands washing City Hall linen, but ere long they would be happy to continue the arrangement because of a keen realization of the common destiny of all the functions of government.

The problem of getting under way with the program outlined here has not been facilitated, however, by the latest expression of the attitude of organized education on the question of its position within the whole structure of government. In a report¹⁴ to the public two years ago the Educational Policies Commission appointed by the nation's parent-educational association set forth with renewed emphasis the argument that education has a uniquely unique function to serve in American democracy and should therefore be accorded a wide measure of fiscal and administrative independence. In the best interests both of education and of the rest of local government, financial autonomy for schools cannot be granted. As for administrative independence, the question is not that of all or none, but of more or less. If present safeguards respecting the tenure and qualifications of school personnel, administrative and instructional, are retained, integration of education with the municipal corporation or with the county need not and will not deny to educational authorities any discretion they now have and use for giving body to the promise of American democracy.

¹⁴ Educational Policies Commission, A. J. Stoddard, chairman, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy* (Washington: National Education Association and the Department of Superintendence, 1937).

DEMOCRACY IN PUBLIC FINANCE

It was observed in the chapter on "Reconstruction in School Finance" that the principal defects in the present regional system of financing education are an excessive reliance on the general property tax for securing revenue and a failure, on the side of expenditures, to make certain that appropriations for the schools are considered directly on their merits relative to those for all other governmental functions. It was noted further that Illinois is behind Indiana and Wisconsin by a significant margin in adjusting her revenue system to the changes that have occurred in the last three-quarters of a century in the nature of wealth and income. In the case of each of the states, however, there are no outstanding defects in methods of school finance which are not at the same time defects in the general system of public finance in that commonwealth. Eliminate the weaknesses of the latter, and those of the former will have been removed automatically.

At the very minimum there are three standards which the states involved will have to try to observe. The first is that general public revenues must be collected more and more on the basis of ability to pay.¹⁵ The second is that the budgets for all agencies and activities of government in any community be weighed on their merits by a single representative body elected as nearly as possible in accordance with the principles of proportional representation. The third is that they break even more than they have with the tradition of using areas of administration as areas of financial support and openly accept the propriety of state-raised, locally shared taxes. Application of these standards requires, in order, adoption of state net

¹⁵ See in this connection the recent study of American taxation by the Twentieth Century Fund.

income taxes, integration of education with government both on the local and on the state levels, and recognition that, in a free-trade area, income is frequently not "earned" at the geographical point where it happens to be paid. Establishment of the income tax is patently the heart of the matter. Starting about 1911, Wisconsin has led all the states in the Union in the development of the net income tax. Indiana adopted a gross income tax during the depression. But, despite her position in the front rank of the nation's rich industrial states, Illinois hobbles along with a system of "uniform taxation" prescribed by an obsolete constitution formulated in a period when the state was living under a predominantly agricultural economy.

In the light of Illinois' difficult amending process and of the determined efforts made to secure an income tax on several occasions since adoption of the constitution in 1870, it is anything but easy to indicate how to launch a successful attack today. It might be possible to get the state supreme court to reverse its position on the "uniformity" clause, but the chances are against such a departure. Probably what will have to be done will be to hammer away at the issue of "Democracy in Taxation" until the electorate comes to appreciate the fact that, unless its institutions have democratic foundations in finance, they will not be democratic in their operation.¹⁶

SELF-HELP THROUGH IMPROVED CIVIC EDUCATION

With respect to most of the trends described in this study it may be said that, though their direction is progressive both for the schools and for local government, the rate of their development is dangerously slow. There is no

¹⁶ Discussion of the political aspects of building morale in educational personnel was so intertwined with treatment of other problems in chap. vi that it is omitted here.

single change of attitude on the part of the people of the Region which would be as helpful in hastening the adjustments that are needed as the awakening of a greater readiness to break with old forms and traditional ways. Such a revolution would admittedly be difficult to accomplish in adults, but it should be relatively easy in the case of children. In the long run, therefore, education holds the destiny of its governance partly in its own hands. The schools can save themselves if they want to.

A new generation has come to maturity in the Region of Chicago in the years that have flown since 1910. In what the public schools taught them, or failed to teach them,¹⁷ about local government there should be some clue as to what needs to be done if plans now being formulated for the building of Greater Chicago shall not be discovered after the lapse of another quarter-century to have been idle and irrelevant dreaming. One must recognize, of course, that the schools do not constitute the only instrument for directing civic interest. Home, church, movie, radio, press, political party—all these other mighty agencies for the molding of public opinion have had, and continue today to have, their parts in civic education. They will probably have equally significant roles in the future. Their combined influence frequently predominates in the political thinking of the rank and file over that of the schools; of this there can be little question. Moreover, the schools will not as a general rule be found opposing them. All these social forces tend to move in the same direction. They must or they go under. It may, for short intervals, be possible for one of them to be out of step with the march

¹⁷ Lang's study of the educational status of Chicago's population, cited in chap. iii, makes it plain that the schools did not have much of an opportunity to give civic training to the majority of Chicago's people.

of time and technology and politics, but, by and large, the greatest potential effect any of them may achieve is limited to a slight shift along the established line of development or possibly some slight acceleration or retardation in the rate of progress. The range within which any one of them, opposed by the others, may build a new social order is extremely narrow.¹⁸

Without assuming that, when and where they do diverge from other forces, the schools are always on the side of the general welfare, it is plain that, if there is such a thing as a rational way of training people how to solve questions of governmental organization and operation, some consideration must be given to the part the schools would play. It is pertinent therefore to ask: Working within the range of the possible and practicable, what did the schools do in the past, and what can they do in the next, quarter-century to effect an accommodation of government to the needs of the people in the Chicago Region?

It is impossible to approach the question of the nature of a school program of civic education directly. One must postulate that, by and large, the character of civics teaching in any system is a reflection of the textbooks and courses of study employed and, less emphatically, of the recommendations of professional associations in the field. (After seven years of secondary-school teaching, the writer is convinced that this postulate does practically no violence to the facts.)

At the beginning of the century Chicago offered social-science instruction only in the senior high school. Yet, by the standards of that day, this represented an exceptional amount of attention to civics. Students in her secondary

¹⁸ See I. L. Kandel, "Education and Social Change," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, October, 1935, pp. 23-35.

schools could elect in their Senior year what would be the equivalent today of a full semester of civics, and, as a matter of fact, in the year 1900 approximately one-half of the Senior class did choose that for one of their courses. But since only about one-half of those who entered high school stayed through the four years, there were no more than 25 per cent of the pupils in the high schools of Chicago receiving any formal instruction in the social sciences. Even so, this percentage was "exceptionally large."¹⁹

The content of this course was generally identical with the content of the textbooks then available, replete with dilation on the forms of government but almost devoid of analysis either of the functions performed or of the forces that propelled the machinery. Soon the limitations of this brand of civic education began to chafe on some of the more progressive teachers in the system. H. W. Thurston, of the Hyde Park High School faculty, was the first to try to turn out of the rut. He saw with exceptional clarity that most of the students in his classes were leaving high school with a very meager knowledge of the workings of government—and that at a time when hardly one in ten of the graduates from the elementary school went on to high school. Realizing that no program of civic education which did not touch the grammar-school students would get to first base, he interested Mr. J. W. Errant, of the Board of Education, in a plan to create in the Chicago Normal School a department of civics. This department, one of the first of its kind, had for its purpose the giving of instruction in civics to potential elementary-school teachers with the thought that they in turn would be able,

¹⁹ Edward E. Hill, "The Teaching of Social Sciences in Secondary Schools," *Education*, April, 1901, p. 499.

by degrees, to introduce a program of civic education into the grade schools.

Thurston was given a relatively free hand and, with the co-operation of the Normal School faculty, worked out an entire course of study for each and all of the first eight grades. Broadly speaking, the program involved two fields: local community civics and local community economics. Those who were most closely acquainted with Thurston's work thought highly of it, but it seemed quite difficult to bridge the gap from the Normal School to the classrooms of the city's two or three hundred elementary schools. One progressive district superintendent did recognize the effort for what it was worth and interested several of her principals and through them some grade-school teachers in giving the course a trial.

In so far as their experience with the new course of study was concerned, it seems to have been a success, but, save for this one district, the plan was not aggressively utilized. It enjoyed its greatest vogue about 1905 but then, with the departure of the founder, ceased to extend itself, even though a couple of years later it was officially "adopted." With a time allotment of but fifteen minutes a week in the lower grades and seventy-five minutes in the upper, it is not difficult to see that little could be accomplished.²⁰ Yet when the epoch-making book on *The Community and the Citizen* by Arthur W. Dunn made its appearance (1907), many of the teachers of Chicago had a background which

²⁰ The foregoing account of Thurston's work was related to the writer by Professor Edward E. Hill, sometime head of the Department of History and Civics at Chicago Normal School (see Chicago Normal School, Department of History and Civics, *Outline for Teaching Civics* [Chicago: C.N.S. Manual Training Press, ca. 1904]; cf. Edward E. Hill, "Dynamic Civics," *Educational Bi-monthly*, October, 1916, pp. 15-25).

enabled them to proceed smoothly and easily to the use of this volume as a text. Thereafter "dynamic civics"—the term attempts to avoid the implication of the word "community" that civics is limited to the locality—became the order of the day in Chicago no less than elsewhere.²¹ Following 1915 the "new civics" gained a wider and wider acceptance in all American schools, owing to the universality with which writers of textbooks accepted the new pattern. Though it had, and still has, its shortcomings—principally its failure to treat social and economic forces adequately—there can be no doubt that the community, vocational, social, and economic civics taught in the schools of Chicago and America since then has everything to commend it when compared to the barren, mechanical, and constitutional civics of the nineteenth century.

From a report entitled *Elementary Social Studies*, prepared by a subcommittee on history of the Education Committee of the Chicago Principals' Club in 1923, one may get a general impression of what the Chicago system was trying to do in the early post-war years to help grade-school children understand the world of politics.²² The sections pertaining to the fourth, fifth, and eighth grades

²¹ One may get some idea of what the more progressive elementary teachers were trying to do during the war years by examining the "Suggested Outline for the Chicago Course" prepared by Jane P. Cook, Edward E. Hill, and Dora Wells and published in the *Educational Bi-monthly* for April, 1915, pp. 364-70. All grade schools in the city were expected to give ten weeks' instruction in the civics and geography of the local community. Main topics in the outline included: topography, geological history, early settlement, growth and original public improvements, the Great Fire, the Columbian Exposition, Chicago today (politically and industrially), suggestions for special "type" studies of, e.g., the steel and meat-packing industries, population, social activities (e.g., health, safety, recreation, water, sanitation), special achievements, and plans for improvement.

²² This report was published by the Board of Education in 1923.

were designed to disclose to the student more or less by functional divisions the services of government. Relatively little attention was given to fact of levels of government. As for high-school civics, the principal advance registered in the 1920's was the establishment by 1922 of the requirement of a full semester's course in civics for graduation.²³

Only once within the past quarter-century has civic training in Chicago schools been given the center of the local political and educational stage. For practically two years, 1927 and 1928, the content of Chicago's curriculum in civic education was the subject of vigorous and vehement discussion. Had the inquiry been directed toward constructive ends, enough energies were expended to have put the social sciences clearly on the right road. But the inquiry was never intended to serve any constructive purpose; it was designed to furnish campaign material for the third election to Chicago's mayoral chair of one of the most demagogic politicians American municipal politics has produced. It was an attempt to becloud every relevant issue in the campaign by making voting capital out of the national sympathies and antipathies of the ethnically heterogeneous population of the city.²⁴

Precisely when Chicago's school children should have had their attention directed toward a dozen acute problems emerging right around them, their thoughts and those

²³ See *An Outline of the High School Course of Study* (Chicago: Board of Education Printing Plant, 1922).

²⁴ Counts, in *School and Society in Chicago*, has the best treatment of this battle between "Big Bill" Thompson and the "un-Americans." The latter included McAndrew, King George, Merriam, Muzzey, Schlesinger, McLaughlin, *et al.* Interestingly enough, Merriam was within a few years of this date a member of the Committee on Civic Education appointed by the Advisory Council of the superintendent of schools named by the new Thompson Board of Education. William H. Stuart's *The 20 Incredible Years* (Chicago: Donohue, 1935) gives the story of McAndrew from the Thompson side, pp. 294-98, 339-46.

of their teachers were diverted instead toward extraneous topics, the only possible effect of which was to incapacitate them for coping with the troublesome facts that time and technology have steadily been forcing upon this great urban center.²⁵ It is impossible to gauge in years the setback this fiasco entailed for a constructive program of civic education in the schools, but there can be no doubt of the fact that the loss of time has been considerable. The present ridiculous rule ordering daily salute of the flag in all classrooms, the recent extension of R.O.T.C. training into all high schools, the overreadiness to "pin the red label" on any teacher or student who undertakes to criticize the present order of things—these are all of a piece with that perverted civic training which Thompson advocated in 1927.²⁶

The latest significant effort made by Chicagoans to bring their program of civic instruction in line with the needs of the metropolitan region was the report of the Committee on Civic Education of the Superintendent's Advisory Council submitted in 1933. Financed by a fund contributed by the Union League Club and headed by Professor A. R. Hatton, of Northwestern University, the committee surveyed the whole problem of civic education in Chicago and presented in conclusion a set of recom-

²⁵ See Mayor Thompson's article, "Shall We Shatter the Nation's Idols in School Histories?" in *Current History*, February, 1928. By request of James E. Watson, of Indiana, it was reprinted in the *Congressional Record* for February 28, 1928.

²⁶ See *Chicago Daily News*, June 27 and October 31, 1935; see also *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, November 25, 1935, and *Chicago Evening American*, November 25, 1935. These are, of course, just a few of what might be a list of a thousand references. See additionally a mimeographed pamphlet on "Militarism in Chicago Schools" issued by the Co-ordinating Committee against Militarism in Education (Chicago, 1935).

mendations significant especially for the importance it attached to local government.²⁷

In his letter transmitting the committee's report to the superintendent the chairman said:

One of our important conclusions is that before an effective program of civic instruction can be developed, suitable materials must be prepared for the use of teachers and pupils. Early in our inquiry we concluded that it would be desirable to prepare an example of this type of material for classroom use. A considerable portion of our efforts, therefore, have been devoted to the preparation of a manual dealing with the form and functioning of local government in Chicago. This manual, intended for use in the senior high schools, is designed to be not only an accurate and up-to-date exposition of the subject, but also to arouse the pupils' interest and to encourage their personal cooperation in the civic life of their city. It is neither a diatribe nor propaganda. Its sole purpose is to be constructively informative.

The manual referred to is at present a mimeographed booklet of something over one hundred pages bearing the title "Government in Chicago." Written from the findings of researches on metropolitan Chicago, it has been used in a number of classrooms during the last two years by teachers keenly aware of the need for more thorough instruction in local government. It embodies a good deal of political realism without conveying to the student either cynicism or defeatism; it contains many exceptionally practical questions and problems (questions and problems, by the way, that would probably be embarrassingly simple and difficult for most parents to answer); and it presents as one of its most commendable features a plain-spoken analysis of how public officials get into office and how they are paid. The booklet is worthy of being made available

²⁷ Other members of the committee were Daniel J. Beeby, Benjamin F. Buck, Edward E. Hill, Charles H. Judd, Charles E. Merriam, Mrs. B. J. Langworthy, Edward M. Martin, and Victor S. Yarros. Miss Mary J. Herrick served as staff investigator.

in printed form. Designed to occupy from three to four weeks of the senior high school civics course, it should be honored by universal use throughout the system. The civics course was recommended by the committee as one that should be required of all students.

Along with other valuable material, the report of this committee contained a brief outline of Chicago's present social-science course. It is included here to afford the reader an over-all view of the civic training program of the Chicago school system. Supplementing it is a brief statement of what students in Chicago's public junior colleges are given to continue their civic education beyond the high school.

CHICAGO'S PRESENT SOCIAL-SCIENCE COURSE

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	
KINDERGARTEN	} { Projects in home, school, and neighborhood activities
FIRST GRADE	
SECOND GRADE	
THIRD GRADE	{ Stories of simpler civilizations Celebration of anniversaries and holidays (in subsequent grades also)
FOURTH GRADE	{ Selected stories of American history Geography: types of land areas, hot, cold, etc. Life of people of countries studied Some activities of the local community
FIFTH GRADE	{ Stories of American explorers and colonies Geography and people of North and South America Some history of the local community Activities of the local community, e.g., fire prevention
SIXTH GRADE	{ Stories of American Colonial days Stories of European history, chivalry, and discovery Geography and peoples of other continents

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

SEVENTH GRADE { American history
Transportation and communication in the
local community
Local history

EIGHTH GRADE { American history
Current-events discussions
Community civics

NINTH GRADE { American history
Structure of national, state, and city govern-
ment
Vocational or economic civics

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

TENTH GRADE { Early and medieval European history (usu-
ally elective)

ELEVENTH GRADE { Modern European or industrial history (usu-
ally elective)

TWELFTH GRADE { American history—1 year required
Civics or Problems of Democracy— $\frac{1}{2}$ year
required
Other courses in sociology and economics
elective

JUNIOR COLLEGE²⁸

THIRTEENTH GRADE

Social Science 101.—After clarifying for the student the meaning of social science and the nature of social problems, the work of this first semester deals with the origins, structure, and problems of local and state government, some aspects of national government being left for later consideration. 3 hours

Social Science 102.—The work of this semester deals chiefly with the ways in which human beings organize for the production and distribution of wealth. Considerable emphasis is placed on the business cycle and technological developments. There is a study of the present economic order, and its evolution, with special emphasis on the industrial

²⁸ The following descriptions of courses were taken from the college catalogue.

revolution in England and America, both in its early and its modern phases. Attention is given to prices, to the distribution of wealth and income, to monetary and financial problems, to problems of economic reform and reorganization; and to the "New Deal." 3 hours

FOURTEENTH GRADE

Social Science 103.—The semester will begin with a presentation of pertinent material from the scientific study of human nature. Various aspects of man's relation to man will be studied, such as the characteristics of group life, the growth of institutions, the development of social attitudes, and the means of social control. 3 hours

Social Science 104.—The final semester of the social science survey course is devoted to a study of our national government and various problems of international relations which vitally affect the citizen of the United States. Attention is given to such typical problems as the tariff, international debts, monetary stabilization, imperialism, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. 3 hours

(The above courses are required of all students. In addition, electives are offered in each of the departmental fields.)

Essential though good texts, courses of study, and recommendations of experts may be, the personnel of the civics teaching staff is a matter of even greater importance in Chicago's program of civic education. The teacher is the keystone of the arch. Unless the classroom instructor has a clear conception both of what is wrong and of what is right with local government and feels free to enlighten his pupils accordingly, the chances for making progress are nil. Many of Chicago's civics teachers do not have the background necessary for vivid and constructive teaching relating to the local political scene. Paradoxical though it may seem, the majority of civics teachers do a better job of describing to their students the workings of government at Geneva, Washington, and Springfield than in the city, ward, and precinct in which their school is located.²⁹ This

²⁹ See *Chicago Tribune's* editorial, "Several Things Explained," reprinted in the *Chicago Daily News*, October 23, 1935.

marks one of the most serious defects in the present program of civic education. It is not that state, national, and international politics are not worth all the attention they are getting; they need all the time now given them and probably more. It is simply that local government is so woefully neglected.

To sum up: in so far as the obligations of the schools are concerned, the "key" to the problem of putting the knotty questions of metropolitan government in the course of solution seems to be to combine the examination of basic social and economic forces with a drastically expanded consideration of the functioning of *local* government.³⁰ By getting teachers and students to realize that governments are neither created nor operated of themselves, the next generation may be disabused of the blight of "spectatoritis" so characteristic of the attitude of the present one. And by getting them to see that nineteenth-century mechanisms simply cannot function effectively under twentieth-century conditions, they will be saved from even passive devotion to the philosophy of political rigidity. Let one generation become thoroughly imbued with the idea that experimentation with new forms and practices is appropriate when the public may be benefited thereby, and the schools will have contributed mightily to the solution of problems now emergent or emerging in the government of education in metropolitan Chicago.

³⁰ For an incisive general analysis of the problem of civic education see Charles E. Merriam, "A Key Point in the Democratic Process," *Chicago Union Teacher*, June, 1938.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. FINDINGS

EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT

Education being in the United States a public function and government being the instrument through which public functions are discharged, it must on its face seem inappropriate to set the two at opposites in the manner implied by such a phrase as "education and government." Yet it has been so typical in America, and in the metropolitan region of Chicago as a part of it, for the public schools to be run under a system of self-government of their own that the relationship that has existed between education and the rest of government may with considerable accuracy be termed an experiment in disjunction, particularly on the local level. The essential problem is to examine this relationship, not from the standpoint alone of its effects upon education—as has been the policy of too many investigators—but from the triple standpoint of its effects upon education, upon government, and upon that larger thing, the democratic way of life.

There are three main groups with a direct stake in the adjustment of education and government to each other: the children, the public-service personnel, and the voting and taxpaying public. A constructive approach must weigh the interests of all three. Since there is, however, no objective method of determining the relative weight to be attached to them, it is desirable that acknowledg-

ment be made by each observer of the direction in which his social philosophy may lead him to overload the scales. In the present case it is intended that the favored interest, if there must be one, shall be the children. They are the greatest potential resource of the Chicago Region. If the relations of schools, cities, counties, and other units of government are to be replanned for one group more than for any other, the boys and girls, young men and young women, ought to be given paramount consideration.

There are approximately five million people in the thirteen counties (nine in Illinois, three in Indiana, and one in Wisconsin) comprising what is here called metropolitan Chicago, an increase of two million in a quarter of a century. One million, three hundred and fifty thousand of them are between six and twenty years of age inclusive, that is, of "school age"—550,000 more than were in that category a generation ago. Attendance has doubled in the period intervening, yet it has not grown to the place where the schools of the area are training all those technically within school age. Total attendance at present stands at about 1,050,000. Of these, however, some 260,000 are being educated under private auspices, nine-tenths of them in the elementary grades. Consequently, the immediate problem in the government of education is to provide more or less equal educational opportunities for approximately 790,000 children and young people, to do it efficiently, to do it in a manner not inimical to the operation of other governmental services, and to do it through the democratic process.

The emerging responsibilities are somewhat greater. They comprise (1) a great enlargement of formal educational opportunity in the upper years of high school and the years just beyond (only 24.9 per cent of those in the

eighteen-year age group were attending school in 1934); (2) the development of a comprehensive program of adult education, for people who never completed their grammar or secondary training, for people who stand in need of vocational rehabilitation in order to regain the ability of self-support, and for all those, whatever their station, who have begun to ask themselves: "Why stop learning?" and (3), though this is less urgent, an extension of opportunities downward to make kindergarten, and, later, preschool, training accessible to thousands to whom it is now denied.

The solution of these immediate and emerging problems will necessarily involve many complex tasks. Administrative areas for education and for other public functions will have to be redrawn. Provision will have to be made for fuller collaboration between governmental agencies now isolated and for more effective supervision of local officials by metropolitan or state authorities. Ways must be found to make understandable and workable the controls the public theoretically has over all its public services and servants. Burdens of financial support must be equalized and in many cases lightened. Conditions of public employment need to be improved not only for school personnel but equally for the personnel of municipalities and counties. Perhaps most difficult of all, the vision of a reconstructed metropolitan community must be presented to the people of the Region in such striking colors that they will catch it and be moved to work mightily for its realization.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF A GENERATION

Twenty-five years is but a brief interval in the history of a city. Though a number of important changes have occurred in public education and local government in

metropolitan Chicago in the past quarter-century, one of the most pronounced tendencies during the period has been the tendency of many fundamental things to remain the same. With this admitted, the outstanding developments of the past generation may profitably be summarized.

All the basic national movements in government recorded by President Hoover's Commission on Recent Social Trends were present in the Chicago Region: the swift growth of functions arising out of the war and prosperity; the mounting of public revenues; the halting acceptance of changes in number, structure, or powers of governmental units; and the dislocation of normal operations forced by the depression.

Reflections of country-wide developments in education are also noticeable in the history of the local community: democratization of school enrolment and program; steady advancement in professionalization of teaching staff; persistence of decentralization in school administration despite growing need of aid and supervision from state and federal governments; and growing acknowledgment that scientific research comprises the proper way to solve educational problems.

In like manner, as national educational trends have been conditioned by the march of political and economic events, the tendencies in education in the Chicago area have been strongly colored by what has happened in her political arena. Apart from the political and economic warfare that has drained the energies of her people almost constantly, the happenings in education simply cannot be understood. Harrison, Thompson, Dever, Thompson (third term), Cermak, and Kelly have emerged successively as victors in the struggle for the power and pelf attaching to the Chi-

cago mayoralty. The repercussions of battles thus won or lost, both between the parties and within them, have inevitably found their way into the supposedly detached realm of school administration.

That the government of education has normally derived its dominant note from the politics of the City Hall has been apparent on the surface of things in what Counts called "the clashing philosophies of superintendents." There has not been one superintendent in twenty-five years—Mrs. Young, Shoop, Chadsey, Mortensen, McAndrew, Bogan, or Johnson—who has been able to avoid being marked with the brush of political partisanship.

By a law of 1917 the Chicago Board of Education was separated from the city corporate more completely than ever before. Yet such has been the force of circumstances that across the gulf separating the school district from the municipality proper and from suburban districts and municipalities there have been developed several types of co-operation which deny in fact the validity and even the possibility of a separation. Co-operative arrangements exist with respect to school health and library service, public recreation, tax collection, personnel administration, and secondary education itself.

THE AREAL BASE FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Responsibility for the immediate administration of education among the five million people who share a more or less common social and economic life in the Chicago Region is scattered among no less than 1,246 jurisdictions comprising sixteen divergent types or classes. Responsibility for financing and supervision is further diffused among 191 other public authorities on four governmental levels, making a total of 1,437 jurisdictions involved some-

what directly in the government of education in the area. Cook County alone maintains 194 districts for immediate administration and uses thirty-two supervisory jurisdictions.

Nine principal types of administrative areas may be distinguished: 1,030 common elementary-school districts, 47 consolidated elementary districts, 101 high-school districts, 9 non-high-school districts, all in regional Illinois and Wisconsin; 1 district in Illinois with a population over 500,000; 1 independent school district in Wisconsin; 13 school towns and school cities in Indiana, 43 school townships, also in Indiana; 1 special district for vocational education in Wisconsin.

Sixty-five per cent of the entire regional enrolment are included in one district, Chicago; the remaining 35 per cent are dispersed among the other 1,245 districts, the overwhelming majority of which are elementary units with an average area of slightly more than four square miles. The schools of Chicago and the fourteen suburbs having populations exceeding 25,000 enrol approximately 85 per cent of the total for the Region.

Utilization of the dual system, characterized by separate jurisdictions for elementary and secondary schools, engenders additional confusion in Illinois and Wisconsin beyond that which obtains in Indiana. Of 869 one-room country schools within the Metropolitan Region, 789 are found in the nine counties of regional Illinois, 44 in the one county of regional Wisconsin, and 36 in the three counties of Indiana.

Unaccompanied by strong inducements in the form of state subventions, voluntary consolidation of lilliputian units offers no promise of a more rational pattern of administrative areas within the near future.

Unprecedented improvements in transportation and communication have so greatly enlarged the area of convenient daily activity that the school administrative area of optimum efficiency today is much greater than it was a quarter-century ago. For practical purposes in fixing minimal geographic units of education, school authorities need hardly consider any area smaller than one which, from the standpoint of pupil patronage, would support a high school.

THE ORGANIZATION OF OVERHEAD CONTROL

General supervision and control over the Chicago public schools has been vested during the past quarter-century in a nonsalaried Board of Education, composed, since 1917, of eleven members appointed for five-year staggered terms by the mayor and confirmed by the City Council. Designed to "keep the schools out of politics" and "politics out of the schools," this system has seldom worked according to the theory on which it is based.

With some exceptions in Indiana, where a few boards of education are either appointed by the mayor or elected by the city council, the government of education outside Chicago proper is in law even more completely separated from local politics than it is in the central city. Control is vested in popularly elected school directors, trustees, or boards of education varying in number from one to fifteen (three and five being the more common sizes) and generally having three-year terms.

Reliance on *ad hoc* authorities has been carried to such lengths in the Chicago area that there has developed a marked fragmentalizing of civic interest, revealing itself in numerous pressure groups clamoring for greater attention to special functions. Public education, as the leading

ad hoc function, has organized its own supporters, but their tendency—one falls here quite inevitably into the language they frequently use—to preach a gospel of righteousness in the schools and corruption at the City Hall operates in the final analysis to the disadvantage both of education and of regular municipal government.

There has been a tendency in Chicago during the past decade for citizens to go directly to the mayor or to aldermen of the Council regarding school matters and not to deal directly with the Board of Education. One reason for this is that the Board's method of transacting its business publicly is such that the public frequently cannot understand what is going on. A more potent consideration is the feeling that, in the last analysis, the Board of Education does not really control the city's schools, that the real power rests with the mayor and the party leaders in the various wards.

Refusal to effect integration has not necessarily meant a total want of co-ordination either in budget-making or in educational and municipal administration; it means that the stage is set and will continue to be set for integration under other auspices—those of machine politics and of financial overlords. Bringing these to book is almost impossible.

The present system of school government is directly responsible for requiring the popular election of nearly 4,400 public officials and indirectly responsible for helping to perpetuate an arrangement under which several hundred other office-holders must be elected.

RECONSTRUCTION IN SCHOOL FINANCE

Total expenditures for education in the thirteen counties of the Region amounted to \$124,475,075 in 1935. Though

current expenditures have been lower recently than they were in the late 1920's, appropriations for debt service have been so large that the total embodies an increase of nearly \$3,000,000 over figures for 1930.

On the basis of figures for the nine counties of regional Illinois, adjusted to eliminate the effects of changes in the general price level, total educational expenditures for 1935 were 360.5 per cent of those for 1910. Expenditures per child enrolled, similarly adjusted, had risen from \$55.95 to \$111.76.

The ratio of expenditures for education to total governmental-cost payments in the city of Chicago has increased but slightly in the past quarter-century. In 1910, 25.8 per cent of all governmental cost payments went to education; in 1936, the latest year for which *Financial Statistics of Cities* are available, the corresponding figure was 26.4 per cent.

The most critical of all ratios of expenditure within the school budget are those for instruction and for debt service. Two of the most urgent emerging problems in the reconstruction of educational finance in Chicago are those of *raising* the percentage of current expenditures for instruction (Chicago in 1935 spent 70.3 per cent compared to 80.3 per cent in New York) and *lowering* the percentage of total expenditures devoted to debt service.

In the year 1935 Chicago appropriated 28.2 per cent of her entire budget for debt service; the corresponding percentage in 1936 was 18.9 but by 1938 it had been lowered to 6.5 per cent, a figure so low that it suggests some change in the basis of computation. On June 30, 1937, the Chicago school district had a funded debt of \$38,598,000 and a floating debt, all in unredeemed tax

warrants, of \$69,482,825, making a total indebtedness of \$108,080,825.

Variations in taxable wealth behind each child enrolled in Cook County schools in 1934 ranged from \$906 for the poorest district to \$53,437 for the richest, the median being \$8,513. Chicago's per-pupil valuation was \$4,352.

The nadir in financial integrity directly affecting the schools of Chicago during the last twenty-five years seems to have been reached in the years of the second Thompson mayoralty, 1919-23. Since then—particularly during Thompson's third term and under the Kelly administration—rumors of corruption in school management have always been plentiful, but there have been no disclosures comparable to those of fifteen years ago.

Whatever the "advantages" accruing to persons active in school government, they derive not so much from holding a school office as from being an important cog in a political machine.

Suburban school districts have had their financial scandals no less than the Chicago district.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL

The teaching personnel of the regional school system has grown in a quarter-century from 10,500 to approximately 22,000. An estimated 5,000 additional persons are required for nonacademic positions. The past generation has witnessed considerable improvement in the professional training of this staff, yet it still falls short of possessing the civic perspective and the "drive" needed adequately to orient students to live in the modern metropolis.

Resort to many devices of spoils politics both in the academic and in the nonacademic branches of Chicago's school system has tended in recent years to vitiate not

only the spirit but the letter of regulations requiring assignment on the basis of merit competitively established. The foundations of morale are dangerously undermined.

Adjusted to eliminate effects of changes in price level, average annual salaries for men and women teachers in Cook County in 1910 were \$1,768 and \$867, respectively; twenty-five years later they were \$1,686 and \$1,432 in Chicago and \$1,286 and \$934 in the suburbs. Though eleven of the nation's fourteen largest cities had made partial or full restoration of depression salary cuts, Chicago's teachers continued in 1938 to be handicapped by reductions averaging 11.7 per cent. Local municipal employees had had all of their cut restored.

One of the most vital personnel problems facing the Chicago schools in recent years—that of lightening the load of high-school instructors by reducing the pupil-teacher ratio from around 34 to 1 to 30 to 1, decreasing the average number of students taught per day from 177 to 160, and cutting the number of daily class periods from six to five—is now practically solved. Compliance with standards set by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was achieved during 1937-38.

Chicago teachers, guaranteed security of employment after three years of probation, enjoy tenure rights far outweighing those enjoyed by instructors elsewhere in the Region.

Chicago has made progress in the twentieth century in developing for her school employees a plan of pensioning and retirement, but it has proven defective on several occasions and stands at present in need of reorganization.

Instructors in suburban schools enjoy in some instances protection against superannuation through local pension

funds; most of them, however, have only such protection as is afforded by state retirement systems.

The problem of working out a plan of internal organization among the teachers that will give them the benefits of co-operation without crossing the purposes of other laboring groups inside government or out is really three-fold, involving harmonious relations among themselves, with organized labor, and with other public employees. Formation in 1937-38 of the Chicago Teachers Union has put this problem definitely in the course of solution. Through aggressive and intelligent leadership the Union had enrolled more than 8,500 of the city's 13,000 teachers at the end of the year, and, in the summer of 1938, it was driving on toward an immediate goal of 10,000 members.

THE POLITICS OF REFORM

The disjunction obtaining between government and education is but one phase of the general disintegration and fragmentation of civic interest and public authority existing in metropolitan Chicago. The anatomy of mismanagement has been laid bare frequently, and the community has been ridiculed openly by the nation at large, yet a driving determination for the re-ordering of things remains to be developed.

A lag in civic education in the school system itself is partially the explanation for this situation. Chicago's schools have progressed significantly in breaking away from emphasis on forms and centering attention on the functions of government, but they have not yet taken the further step of disclosing the complex forces that furnish the motive power for the machinery of government and determine the direction of its course. They have only be-

gun to break with the practice of devoting almost all the time available for civics teaching to national, state, and more recently international government and neglecting local affairs. On the level of adulthood Chicago has also made a beginning in civic training, but the program cannot, without being greatly expanded, produce the elements of mobility and flexibility needed to overcome political fundamentalism and rigidity.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Scientific and democratic replanning of public education in the Chicago Region must take the metropolitan community as a whole for its areal base and provide both for the extension and for the equalization of opportunities.

2. Improvements in school administration should not be made at the expense of other municipal services. Readjustment of the relations between education and government should be effected in a manner designed to facilitate the growth of co-operative practices already established.

3. In establishing a simpler system of administrative areas the fundamental consideration should be that, wherever the unitary system is feasible, each district should be of sufficient size to support an integrated system including elementary, secondary, and, where possible, junior-college training. Broadly speaking, this would mean districts with a minimal population of 25,000.

4. Recognizing the strong inclination of people in the suburbs for local control of their schools and acknowledging that the dual system of Illinois and Wisconsin does confront the legislature with conditions that cannot be ignored, the more practicable plans for reconstituting administrative areas in the Chicago Region would create materially larger units while yet not breaking completely from inherited patterns.

5. Several ways are open: (a) The states may offer material financial inducements to encourage voluntary consolidation. (b) Illinois specifically might enact the proposals of the 1936 Educational Commission. (c) Power could be given to such county educational authorities as the commission proposes to set up to discontinue on their own initiative school districts adjudged inefficient and uneconomical. (d) The three state legislatures having made the "original error" could undertake to correct it by enacting comprehensive programs embracing the following changes.

- (1) Adoption of (a) cities of 25,000 or more population, 15 in number, and (b) the 13 remaining county areas as basic units of educational administration both to be required to operate programs embracing all grades from kindergarten through high school (and later through the junior college) and to meet fixed standards.
- (2) Provision by Illinois and Wisconsin that municipalities of not less than 5,000 or more than 25,000 population be permitted to operate independent elementary systems, *provided* they satisfy standards set by state authorities. At most there would be 39 such districts.
- (3) Abolition of special jurisdictions, such as the Wisconsin vocational school districts.
- (4) Formal co-operation by Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin in the solution of the school problems of the "regional community" either through an official planning agency for all governmental activity in the area or through a special council on educational administration. As a step in this direction, Illinois, once it has established a state board of education with some discretionary power, could adopt its own segment of the Region as an area useful for the better supervision of her schools.

This plan would reduce the number of areas of direct education from 1,246 to a maximum of 67.

6. Changes that could be introduced to create a more workable system of overhead control include:

- a) Exercise by aldermen of greater discretion in confirming appointments to the school board. This is much in the nature of a counsel of perfection.

- b) Empowering the mayor of Chicago to remove members of the Board of Education as well as appoint them. This provision would not greatly increase the ability of the public to hold the mayor effectively accountable.
- c) Making the members of the Board elective on a nonpartisan ballot as they are in most regional school districts. Considering the present electoral burdens of the Chicago citizenry and the difficulties of proscribing partisanship, this plan hardly seems calculated to increase the public's control over the school system.
- d) Abolition of all boards of education and clothing of mayors and county authorities with power and responsibility for direct appointment of a superintendent as sole executive officer in charge of school administration. This would integrate education with the rest of government and, postulating comparable changes with respect to other *ad hoc* agencies, make possible an effective control by the voters over all their public services and servants.

7. Each state should establish a nonsalaried, nonpartisan board of education clothed with considerable discretionary authority to fix standards and equalize revenues, and working through an appointive superintendent of public instruction.

8. The keys to reconstruction in school finance are two:

- a) Revision of revenue systems, especially by Illinois, looking toward greater reliance upon state-raised locally shared taxes levied in accordance with the principle of ability to pay.
- b) Concentration in the hands of a single representative local body of power to review on their relative merits the budgets of all public authorities in a community. Normally this would be the municipal council or the county board.

9. In order to build better staff morale, Chicago must improve its administration of the merit system and begin observing with better faith the recognized principles of personnel administration.

10. Full freedom should be accorded employees of the public schools to organize in whatever manner they think

best suited to their purposes and to affiliate as they desire both with other governmental employees and with organized labor.

11. If the battle for a better educational system in the Chicago Region is to be successful, it cannot be fought as something complete in itself. It must be fought as one phase of the general struggle for the rehabilitation of local government in the whole metropolitan community.

12. Time is a critical factor. Action on this program dare not be postponed with the consolation that "there's always tomorrow." The work of reconstruction should be started now.

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